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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, Privy-Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κλῆμα ἐς αἰς. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. X.

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THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K XII.

2 Chron. XXVIII. 10.

*And now ye purpose to keep under the Children of Judah
and Jerusalem for bond-men and bond-women unto
you: but are there not with you, even with you, Sins
against the Lord your God?*

Isa. XXIX. 10.

*For the Lord hath poured out upon you the Spirit of deep
sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the Prophets and
your Rulers, the Seers hath he covered.*

WHILST these Tragedies were acting in Eng- B O O K
XII.
land, and Ordinances formed, as hath been said, to
make it penal in the highest degree for any Man to
assume the Title of King, or to acknowledge any Man
to be so, the King himself remained in a very discon- The young
King's con-
dition at the
Hague.
solate Condition at the *Hague*. Though he had known
the desperate state his Father was long in, yet the
barbarous stroke so surpris'd him, that he was in all
the Confusion imaginable, and all about him were
almost bereft of their understanding. The truth is, it
can hardly be conceived, with what a consternation
this terrible News was received by all, even by the
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B O O K Common People of that Country. There was a
XII. Woman at the *Hague*, of the middling Rank, who, being with Child, with the Horror of the mention of it, fell into Travel, and in it died. There could not be more Evidence of a general detestation, than there was, amongst all Men of what Quality soever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the King's recollection, the States presented themselves in a Body to his Majesty, to condole with him for the Murder of his Father, in terms of great Sorrow, safe that there was not bitterness enough against the Rebels and Murderers. The States of *Holland*, apart, performed the same Civility towards his Majesty; and the Body of the Clergy, in a Latin Oration, delivered by the Chief-Precacher of the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune, in terms of as much asperity, and detestation of the Actors, as unworthy the name of Christians, as could be expressed.

The States
condole with
Him.

The new
Council sworn.

The desperateness of the King's Condition could not excuse his sinking under the Burden of his Grief: but those who were about him besought him to resume so much Courage as was necessary for his present State. He thereupon caused those of his Father's Council who had attended him, to be sworn of his Privy-Council, adding only Mr. *Long* his Secretary; who, before, was not of the Council. All which was done before he heard from the Queen his Mother; who, notwithstanding the great Agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of Sorrow as she was able to sustain, wrote to the King, "that he could not do better, than to repair into *France* as soon as was possible, and, in the mean time, desired him, not to

The Queen's
first Message
to him.

“ swear any Person to be of his Council, till She
“ could speak with him.” Whether it was, that she
did not think those Persons to be enough at her
Devotion; or that she would have them receive that
Honor upon her recommendation.

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The King himself had no mind to go into *France*, where he thought he had not been treated with excess of Courtesy; and he resolved to perform all Filial respect towards the Queen his Mother, without such a condescension and resignation of himself, as she expected; and to avoid all Eclaircissements upon that Subject, he heartily desired that any other Course might be found more Counselable than that he should go into *France*. He himself lived with, and upon the Prince of *Orange*; who supplied him with all things necessary for his own Person, for his Mourning, and the like: but towards any other support for himself and his Family, his Majesty had not enough to maintain them one day: and there were very few of them, who could maintain themselves in the most private way: and it was visible enough, that they should not be long able to reside in the *Hague*; where there was, at that very time, an Agent for the Parliament, *Strickland*; who had been there some years, but pretended then to reside there with his Wife (who was born in *Holland* of *English* Parents) and without any public Character, though he was still under the same Credentials. And their Advertisements from *London* assured them, that the Parliament had nominated one, who was presently to be sent as their Ambassador, or Envoy to the States, to give them an Account of their Affairs, and to invite them to enter into an Alliance

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The King
thinks of go-
ing into Ire-
land. The
Affairs there
at that time.

with them. So that it was time to think of some other Retreat for the King; and none appeared then so seasonable in their view, as *Ireland*; from whence they heard, “that Prince *Rupert* was arrived safely at *Kinsale* with the Fleet: that the Lord *Inchiquin* had made a Cessation with the *Irish*, before the Lord-Lieutenant came thither; and the *Irish* had deserted the Pope’s Nuntio, who was driven away, and had Embarked himself for *France*: that the Marquis of *Ormond* was received by the Lord *Inchiquin* with all the Obedience imaginable, by which he became entirely possessed of the whole Province of *Munster*; and that the Confederate-Roman-Catholics had invited him to *Kilkenny*; where he had made a full Peace with them: so that they were preparing an Army to march under his Command against *Dublin*. This News made them hope, that every day would improve it so much, that it would be fit for the King to Transport his own Person thither in the Spring.”

The King
proclaimed in
Scotland;
and Commis-
sioners thence
sent to him.

In this conjuncture there arrived a Gentleman, one Sir *Joseph Douglas*, with a Letter from the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, by which they sent his Majesty word that they had proclaimed him King of *Scotland*; and sent him the Proclamation; and wished, “that he would prepare himself to repair into that his Kingdom; in order to which they would speedily send another Invitation to him.” And that Invitation arrived at the same time with some Commissioners deputed by the Council, and three or four Preachers sent from the Commissioners of the Kirk. The Proclamation indeed declared, “For that as much as the late King was, contrary to the Dissent and

“ Protestation of that Kingdom, removed by a violent
 “ death, that, by the Lord’s Blessing, there was left
 “ unto them a righteous Heir, and lawful Successor,
 “ *Charles, &c.* who was become their true and lawful
 “ King;” but upon condition of “his good beha-
 “ viour, and strict observation of the Covenant, and
 “ his entertaining no other Persons about him but
 “ such as were Godly Men, and faithful to that
 “ obligation.” A Proclamation so strangely worded,
 that, though it called him their King, manifested
 enough to him, that he was to be subject to Their
 determinations, in all the parts of his Government.
 And the Commissioners, both Laity and Clergy,
 spoke no other Language; and saving that they bowed
 their Bodies, and made low Reverences, they appear-
 ed more like Ambassadors from a free State to an equal
 Ally, than like Subjects sent to their own Sover-
 eign. At the same time, though not in the same Ship,
 arrived likewise from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lanrick*,
 and the Earl of *Lautherdale*; the former not knowing,
 till he came into *Holland*, that he was Duke *Hamilton*
 by the slaughter of his Elder Brother. But they two
 were so far from having any Authority from their
 Country, that they were fled from thence as proscrib-
 ed Persons and Malefactors. The Earl of *Lautherdale*,
 after his departure from the *Hague*, in that discontent
 that is mentioned before, bent his Course for *Scotland*.
 But before he came thither, he was informed, that the
 state of all things had been reversed, and the Engage-
 ment declared unlawful, and to what penalties himself
 was liable, if he should be taken. Whereupon, without
 suffering his Ship to go into any Port, he found means

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Lanrick,
 now Duke
Hamilton,
 and *Lauther-*
dale, came to
 him also.

B O O K to send on shore to some Friends, and so to concert all
XII. things, that without being discovered, the Earl of *Lanrick*, and some other Persons, liable to danger if they were found, put themselves on board the same Ship, and arrived in *Holland* about that time when the other Messengers from the State and from the Kirk came from *Scotland*, and when the News came of the Execution of Duke *Hamilton*.

The Character
of this Duke
Hamilton.

Whereupon the new Duke kept his Chamber for some days, without so much as waiting on the King; who sent a gracious Message to him to condole for the loss of his Brother; and all the Lords, and other Persons of Quality about the King made their visits to him with all civility. This Duke was not inferior in Wisdom, and Parts of Understanding, to the wisest Man of that Nation, and was very much esteemed by those who did not like the complying, and insinuating Nature of his Brother. He was a Man of great Honor, Courage, and sincerity in his Nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the Men of that time, was still the same Man he pretended to be; and had very much to say in his own defence for the Errors he had run into; which he acknowledged always with great ingenuity, and abhorred the whole proceedings of his Country-men; and, at this time, brought a heart, and affection clearer and less clogged with scruples and reservations, for the King's service, than any other of them did.

The condition
of Scotland
about this
time.

Though *Cromwell*, at his being in *Scotland*, had left *Argyle* in full Possession of the Government there, and had reduced, and disbanded all those who were in Arms against him, and promised him all necessary

assistance to subdue those who should rise against him in that Kingdom for the future, and thereby compelled the Committee of Estates to convene, and summon the Parliament to Assemble, which they had authority to do; and so he had suppressed the Party of *Hamilton*, driven the Earl of *Lanrick* to hide himself in some obscure place, and condemned the Engagement as unlawful and sinful, and all the Persons who advanced and promoted it, as Deserters of the Covenant, and so to stand excommunicated, and not to be capable of serving in Parliament, or in the Council of Estate; so that he was sure to find no opposition in whatsoever he proposed; yet, after the Parliament had served him so far, when they heard that the Parliament in *England* was broken, and their Freedom and Privileges were taken from them by the insolence, and power of the Army (which they perfectly hated and detested, and all those Sects and Libertinism they heard were introduced in Religion contrary to their Covenant, which *Cromwell* himself had promised should be strictly observed) they began to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the Covenant itself. The delivery of the King's Person into the hands of the Parliament at *New-Castle* had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular, and ungracious act to the whole Nation of *Scotland* that it had been ever guilty of, and to the Army they had then on foot, which took itself to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly disbanded by the cunning of *Argyle*: and the universal indignation against that action was the principal incitement to that general Engagement

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with Duke *Hamilton*, that the honor of the Nation might in some degree be repaired, or redeemed. It was a gross oversight in the *Hamiltonian* Party, and discerned then to be so by the Earl of *Lanrick*, that, upon that popular advantage, in which he would have found an universal concurrence, *Argyle* himself and all his Faction had not been totally suppressed, for the redemption of the honor of their Country. But that Duke's Politics did not lie that way; and, so he might return to his old Post of favor in *England*, of which he made little doubt, he was not willing to give a new beginning to those bloody Enterprises in *Scotland*, which, he knew well, used not to be short-lived in that Climate after once begun, but had always fresh Sacrifices of Blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

Commissioners
had been sent
from the Par-
liament of
Scotland
before the
death of the
King to the
Parliament
of England.

They had no sooner heard of the erection of a High-Court of Justice, and of a purpose of trying the King for his Life, than, notwithstanding all the Artifices *Argyle* could use, they were all in a flame. As well the Assembly of the Kirk, as the Parliament, renewed the sense they always had of reproach in the delivery of his Person, of which the present danger he was in was the consequence. And the Marquis of *Argyle* had had too deep a share in that wickedness, to endure the shock of a new dispute, and inquisition upon that subject; and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion; but seemed equally concerned in the honor of the Nation, to prosecute a high Expostulation with those of *England*, for the breach of faith, and the promises, which had been made for the safety, and preservation of the King's Person, at the time

he was delivered up; and therefore proposed, "that
 " Commissioners should be forthwith sent to the
 " Parliament at *London*, to require the performance
 " of what they had promised, and to enter their
 " dissent, and protestation against all their Proceedings
 " against their King, in the name of the Kingdom of
 " *Scotland*." And the Earl of *Lothian*, and two others,
 who were known to be most zealous for the Cove-
 nant, and most enraged and incensed against the
 proceedings of the Army, were made choice of, and
 presently sent away, that they might make all possible
 haste to *Westminster*, and were, immediately upon
 their Arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the
 King, wherever he should be, and to receive from
 him such farther directions, as he should judge neces-
 sary for his service.

Thus far *Argyle* could not oppose; and therefore
 was as zealous as any Man to advance it; knowing
 that the particular Instructions must be prepared by a
 less number of Men, and not subjected to the examina-
 tion and perusal of so many. And in those, he was sure
 to prevent any inconvenient powers to be granted to
 the Commissioners, with whom he had credit enough,
 having made the Earl of *Lothian* Secretary of State, in
 the place of the Earl of *Lanrick*, and the other two
 being (however solicitous for the due observation of
 the Covenant, as he himself likewise pretended to be)
 known to be most averse from the *Hamiltonian* Party. Their private
 Instructions were, "that they should
 " not, in their enlargements and aggravations upon
 " the subject of their Message, seem to take notice, or
 " to imply, that any violence had been used against

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Their private
 Instructions
 from Argyle's
 Party.

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“ the Parliament, or any Member of it : that they
“ should be so short in their expostulations, that they
“ gave no occasion of offence : that nothing should
“ fall from them justifying the King’s proceedings,
“ nor in approbation of the late engagement, or which
“ might import a breach, or give, or be ground of
“ a new War : they should urge, that the Parliament
“ would delay to meddle with the King’s Person,
“ according to their several promises, and Declara-
“ tions at *New-Castle*, and at *Holmby* : that if they
“ should proceed to sentence against the King, then
“ they were to enter their dissent and protest, that
“ this Kingdom may be free from the miseries which
“ will inevitably follow, without offering in their
“ reasons, that Princes are exempted from Trial and
“ Justice : that none in the Parliament of *Scotland*
“ hath, or had any hand in the proceedings against
“ the King, or Members of Parliament in *England*. If
“ they proceed, then to show the Calamities that will
“ follow, and how grievous it must be to the Kingdom
“ of *Scotland*, considering his being delivered up at
“ *New-Castle* : That if the Papers which were entitled
“ *the Agreement of the People*, appeared to be coun-
“ tenanced, and should import any thing concerning
“ the Proceßing of the Prince, or changing the
“ Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, they
“ should enter their dissent : that they should alter
“ those their Instructions, and manage their Trust
“ therein, according to the advice they should receive
“ from their Friends there : that they should prosecute
“ their Instructions concerning the Covenant, and
“ against any Toleration : that they should show, that

“ the King’s last Concessions were unsatisfactory to
 “ those Propositions which they had made in point
 “ of Religion.”

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These were their private Instructions; and who those Friends at *London* were, by whose advice they were to alter their Instructions, or manage their Trust therein, can be understood of no other Men but *Cromwell*, and young Sir *Harry Vane*; with whom *Argyle* held close Correspondence. The Commissioners observed their Instructions very faithfully, and after the King had been twice brought before the high Court of Justice, they gave in their very calm Protestation; in which they put them in mind, “ that
 “ they had, near three Weeks before, represented to
 “ them what Endeavours had been used for taking
 “ away the King’s life, and for the change of the
 “ fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and in-
 “ troducing a sinful and ungodly Toleration in mat-
 “ ters of Religion; and that therein they had expres-
 “ sed their thoughts, and fears of the dangerous con-
 “ sequences that might follow thereupon; and that
 “ they had also earnestly pressed, that there might be
 “ no farther proceeding against his Majesty’s Person,
 “ which would certainly continue the great distrac-
 “ tions of the Kingdom, and involve them in many
 “ Evils, Troubles, and Confusions; but that, by the
 “ free counsels of both Houses of Parliament of
 “ *England*, and with the advice and consent of the
 “ Parliament of *Scotland*, such course might be taken
 “ in relation to the King, as might be for the good
 “ and happiness of both Kingdoms; both having an
 “ unquestionable, and undeniable right in his Person,

Upon the
 King’s Trial
 they enter
 their Protestation and
 Dissent.

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“ as King of both; which duly considered, they had
“ reason to hope, that it would have given a stop to
“ all farther proceedings against his Majesty’s Person.
“ But now understanding that after the imprison-
“ ment, and exclusion of divers Members of the
“ House of Commons, and without, and against the
“ consent of the House of Peers, by a single Act of
“ their own, and Their’s alone, power was given to
“ certain Persons of their own Members, of the
“ Army, and some others, to proceed against his
“ Majesty’s Person, in order whereunto he had been
“ brought before that extraordinary new Court;
“ they did therefore in the name of the Parliament of
“ *Scotland*, for their vindication from false aspersions
“ and calumnies, declare, that though they were not
“ satisfied with his Majesty’s late Concessions, in the
“ Treaty at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, especially
“ in the matters of Religion, and were resolved not
“ to crave his Restoration to his Government, before
“ satisfaction should be given by him to that King-
“ dom; yet they did all unanimously with one voice,
“ not one Member excepted, disclaim the least know-
“ ledge of, or occasion to the late Proceedings of the
“ Army here against the King; and did sincerely pro-
“ fess that it would be a great grief to their Hearts,
“ and lie heavy upon their Spirits, if they should see
“ the trusting his Majesty’s Person to the two Houses
“ of the Parliament of *England* to be made use of to
“ his ruin, contrary to the declared Intentions of the
“ Kingdom of *Scotland*, and solemn Professions of the
“ Kingdom of *England*: and to the end that it might
“ be manifest to the World, how much they did

“ abominate and detest so horrid a design against his
 “ Majesty’s Person, they did, in the name of the Par-
 “ liament and Kingdom of *Scotland*, declare their
 “ dissent from the said Proceedings, and the taking
 “ away of his Majesty’s life; protesting, that as they
 “ were altogether free from the same, so they might
 “ be free from all the miseries, evil consequences, and
 “ calamities, that might follow thereupon to the
 “ distracted Kingdoms.”

Whoever considers the wariness in the wording, and timing this Protestation, the best end whereof could be no other than the keeping the King always in Prison, and so governing without him in both Kingdoms (which was thought to have been the purpose and agreement of *Cromwell* and *Argyle* when they parted) must conclude that both the Commissioners, and they who sent them, labored and considered more, what they were to say in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the present Mischiefe they seemed to apprehend. And the Parliament best knew their temper, when they deferred taking notice of their Protestation, till after they had executed their execrable Villany; and then they sent them an Answer that might suit with all their palates.

They said, “ they had heretofore told them, what
 “ power this Nation had in the fundamentals of Go-
 “ vernment: that if *Scotland* had not the same Power
 “ and Liberty, as they went not about to confine
 “ Them, so they would not be limited by them, but
 “ leaving them to act in Their’s as they should see
 “ cause, they resolved to maintain their own Liberties
 “ as God should enable them. And as they were very

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The Parlia-
 ment after
 the King’s
 Murder sent
 their Answer
 to it.

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“ far from imposing upon them, so they should not
“ willingly suffer impositions from them, whilst God
“ gave them strength or lives to oppose them.” They
said, “ the Answer they made to their first and second
“ Letter was, that after a long and serious Delibera-
“ tion of their own intrinsical Power, and Trust
“ (derived to them by the Providence of God,
“ through the delegation of the People) and upon
“ the like considerations of what themselves, and the
“ whole Nation had suffered from the Misgovern-
“ ment, and Tyranny of that King, both in Peace,
“ and by the Wars, and considering, how fruitless,
“ and full of danger and prejudice the many Addresses
“ to him for Peace had been, and being Conscious
“ how much they had provoked and tempted God,
“ by the neglect of the impartial execution of Justice,
“ in relation to the innocent Blood spilt and mischief
“ done in the late Wars, they had proceeded in such
“ a course of Justice against that Man of Blood, as
“ they doubted not the just God (who is no respec-
“ ter of Persons) did approve and would counten-
“ ance with his blessings upon the Nation ; and
“ though perhaps they might meet with many diffi-
“ culties before their Liberties and Peace were set-
“ tled, yet they hoped they should be preserved from
“ Confusion, by the good Will of him who dwelt in
“ the bush , which burned, and was not consumed ;
“ and that the course they had taken with the late
“ King, and meant to follow towards others the
“ Capital Enemies of their Peace, was, they hoped,
“ that which would be for the good and happiness of
“ both Nations ; of which if that of *Scotland* would

“ think to make use, and vindicate their own Liberty
 “ and Freedom (which lay before them, if they gave
 “ them not away) they would be ready to give
 “ them all Neighbourly and Friendly Assistance in
 “ the establishing thereof ; and desired them to take
 “ it into their most serious consideration, before they
 “ espoused that quarrel, which could bring them no
 “ other advantage than the entailing upon Them,
 “ and their Posterities, a lasting War, with all the
 “ Miseries which attended it, and Slavery under a
 “ Tyrant and his Issue.”

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It cannot be denied, but that *Scotland* had by this a fair Invitation to have made themselves a poor Republic under the Shelter and Protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the Commissioners, who well knew how unsuitable such a change would be to the constitution of their Government, and that they might be welcome to their own Country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this Answer with more Courage than they had yet expressed ; for which, notwithstanding their Qualification, they were Imprisoned by the Parliament ; and, upon new Instance from *Scotland*, set at liberty afterwards.

The Commis-
 sioners reply,
 and are im-
 prisoned, but
 afterwards
 freed.

Matters being reduced to this State, the Marquis of *Argyle* could not hinder the new King's being acknowledged, and proclaimed King, nor from being invited home ; which since he could not obstruct, it would be his Master-piece to clog the Proclamation itself with such conditions as might terrify the new King from accepting the invitation ; and therefore he caused this Clause to be inserted in the Body of the

The Marquis
 of Argyle clogs
 the Act for
 Proclaiming
 of the King,
 with a Clause
 for the Cove-
 nant.

B O O K Proclamation itself, "because his Majesty is bound,
XII. " by the Law of God and the fundamental Laws of
 " this Kingdom, to rule in Righteousness and Equity
 " to the Honor of God, and the good of Religion, and
 " the Wealth of the People; it is hereby declared,
 " that before he be admitted to the Exercise of his
 " Royal Power, he shall give satisfaction to this King-
 " dom in those things which concern the security of
 " Religion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and
 " the good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to
 " the National Covenant and Solemn League and
 " Covenant; for which end, they were resolved,
 " with all possible Expedition, to make their humble
 " and earnest Address to his Majesty."

This was the Proclamation that Sir *Joseph Douglas* brought to the *Hague*, and the Subject upon which the Commissioners were to invite his Majesty to go for *Scotland*, whose Instructions were very suitable to the Proclamation: and at the same time when the Commissioners came from thence, *Middleton*, and some other Officers, who had been in their last Army, hearing that the Prince was proclaimed King, thought it was seasonable to put themselves into a posture to serve him upon his arrival; and so assembled some of those Troops which had formerly served under them in the North of *Scotland*; whereupon *David Lesley* was appointed forthwith, with a Party of Horse and Foot, against those Royalists, whom they knew to be real Assertors of his Cause, without any other interest or design than of their performing their Duties, as Loyal Subjects ought to do: and the Kirk at the same time declared,

" that,

Middleton
assembles
some Troops
in Scotland.

“ that, before the King should be received, albeit
 “ they had declared his Right by Succession, he
 “ should first sign the Covenant, submit to the Kirk’s
 “ Censure, renounce the Sins of his Father’s House,
 “ and the iniquity of his Mother, with other things
 “ of the like Nature.” All which Information arrived
 at the same time with the Commissioners, that they
 who were about the King, might not be too much
 Exalted with their Master’s being declared King of
 one of his three Kingdoms. And it was very manifest,
 by all that passed then and afterwards, that the Mar-
 quis of *Argyle* meant only to satisfy the People, in
 declaring that they had a King, without which they
 could not be satisfied, but that such conditions should
 be put upon him, as he knew, he would not submit to;
 and so he should be able, with the concurrence of the
Kirk, to Govern the Kingdom, till, by *Cromwell’s*
 assistance and advice, he might reverse that little
 approach he had made towards Monarchy by Pro-
 claiming a King.

It was a great Misfortune to the King, and which al-
 ways attends Courts which labor under great wants and
 necessities, that, whilst the greatest Union imaginable
 amongst the few Friends he had was necessary, and of
 too little Power to buoy him up from the distresses
 which overwhelmed him, there was yet so great a
 Faction, and Animosity amongst them, that destroyed
 any the most probable design that could offer itself; as
 it now fell out with reference to *Scotland*, which, if
 united, might yet be able to give Reputation at least,
 if not a vigorous Assistance to the King’s Interest.

Factions in
 the King’s
 Court with
 reference to
Scotland,

The Marquis of *Mountrose*, who hath been men-
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The Marquis

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of Mountrose
arrives in
France :

tioned before, had been obliged by the late King to lay down his Arms; and after he had performed such wonderful Actions in *Scotland*, and left that Kingdom upon his Majesty's first coming into the *Scottish* Army to *New-Castle*, had first arrived in *France* and had not such a Reception from the Queen of *England*, and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable Services he had performed for the King had merited. The truth is, he was somewhat elated with the great Actions he had done; which, upon his first coming to *Paris*, he caused to be published in a full Relation in Latin, dedicated to the Prince of *Wales*; in which, as his own Person, Courage, and Conduct, was well extolled, so the Reputation of all the rest of that Nation (upon whose Affections the Queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and depressed; which obliged the Queen, and the Prince, to look less graciously upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much disturbance at it. He was then a Man of *éclat*, had many Servants, and more Officers, who had served under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the Queen should enable him to maintain with some Lustre, by a liberal assignation of Monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in straits enough, and never open-handed, and used to pay the best Services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her Graces were still more towards those who were like to do Services, than to those who Had done them. So that after a long attendance, and some overtures made by him to Cardinal *Mazarin*, to raise an Army for the Service of

that King, which he did not think were received with that regard his great name deserved, the Marquis left *France*, and made a Journey into *Germany* to the Emperor's Court, desiring to see Armies, till he could come to command them; and was returned to *Brussels*, about the time that the Prince came back into *Holland* with the Fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for some time, till he heard of the Murder of the late King. Then he sent to the King with the tender of his Service, and to know, "if his Majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring any prejudice to his Majesty; and if so, that he would send over the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Sevenberg*, a Town in *Flanders*, where he was at present to expect him, and had matters to communicate to him of much importance to his Majesty's Service." Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his Majesty's pleasure, or out of some vanity, that he might seem to come to the King, after the coldness he had met at *Paris*, by a kind of Treaty, the King commanded the Chancellor presently to go to him; and "if he could," without exasperating him (which he had no mind to do) wished, "he might be persuaded rather for some time to suspend his coming to the *Hague*, than presently to appear there;" which was an injunction very disagreeable to the Chancellor; who in his judgment believed his Majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that Nation in his esteem.

The sudden violent frost, which shut up all the Rivers in less than four-and-twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a short time

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The Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer
sent to confer
with him in a
Village near
the Hague.

after, and upon another Message from him, they met at a Village three or four miles off the *Hague*; whither the Marquis was come. The Chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left *Oxford*, when he seemed to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgment of other Men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal Actions, won so many Battles, and in truth made so great a noise in the world, that there appeared no less alteration to be in his humor, and discourse, than there had been in his Fortune. He seemed rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the King, and how to make a Party that would be fast to him, than out of any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his Majesty. There was yet no news from *Scotland*, since the Murder of the King, and he seemed to think of nothing but that the King would presently send him thither with some Forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that Night together in Conference, and the next Morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or some where else, until he might give him Notice, what the King's sense should be of the matters discoursed between them; insisting principally, "that, if his going into *Scotland*" "should be thought presently to be necessary, it" "would then be as necessary, that he should not be" "taken notice of publicly to have been with the" "King:" with which reason he seemed satisfied; and promised "not to come to the *Hague*, till he should

“ first receive advice from the Chancellor.” But when he heard of the Commissioners being come from *Scotland*, and of the other Lords arrival there, he would no longer defer his Journey thither, but came to the *Hague* well attended by Servants and Officers, and presented himself to the King; who received him with a very good countenance.

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The Marquis
comes to the
Hague.

There were at this time in the *Hague*, the Commissioners who came from the Council and the Kirk to invite the King into *Scotland*, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and others of the Nobility of that Faction, who were now as odious, and as much persecuted by that Party, which then governed *Scotland*, and which in that manner invited the King, as any Men were who had served the King from the beginning. There was also the Marquis of *Mountrose*, with more of the Nobility, as the Earls of *Seaford*, and *Kinnoul*, and others, who adhered to *Mountrose*, and believed his clear Spirit to be most like to advance the King's Service. Of these three Parties, it might reasonably have been hoped that the two last, being equally persecuted by the Power that governed, should have been easily United to have Suppressed the other. But it was a business too hard for the King to bring it to pass; and he could as easily have persuaded the Parliament to reject *Cromwell*, as the Lords of the *Engagement*, and those who had joined with Duke *Hamilton*, to be reconciled to *Mountrose*: so that when the King hoped to have drawn all the *Scottish* Nobility together, to have consulted what Answer he should give to the Messages he had received from

The Parties
of the Scots
now at the
Hague.

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the Council and the Kirk, with which they themselves were enough offended, those Lords of the *Engagement* did not only refuse to meet with the Lord *Mountrose*, but, as soon as he came into the Room where they were, though his Majesty himself was present, they immediately withdrew, and left the Room; and had the confidence to desire the King, “that the Marquis of *Mountrose* (whom they called “*James Graham*) might be forbidden to come into “his Majesty’s Presence, or Court, because he stood “excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, and de- “graded and forfeited by the Judicatory of that King- “dom.” This Proposition and Demand they made confidently in writing under their hands, and abounded so much in this sense, that a Learned and Worthy *Scottish* Divine, Dr. *Wishart*, who was then Chaplain to a *Scottish* Regiment in the Service of the States, being appointed to Preach before the King on the *Sunday* following, they formally besought the King, “that he would not suffer him to Preach before him, “nor to come into his Presence, because he stood “Excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*,” for having refused to take the Covenant; though it was known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that Divine was, that they knew he was the Author of the excellent Relation of the Lord *Mountrose*’s Actions in *Scotland*. This carriage and behaviour of those Lords appeared ridiculous to all sober Men, that any Men should have the presumption to accuse those who had served the King with that Fidelity, and were only branded by those Rebellious Judicatories for having performed their duties of

Allegiance, and to demand that the King himself should condemn them for having served his Father: which made those of his Majesty's Council full of indignation at their Insolence, and his Majesty himself declared his being offended, by using the Marquis of *Mountrose* with the more countenance, and hearing the Doctor Preach with the more attention. But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his Majesty's desire being frustrated, of receiving the joint advice of the Nobility of that Kingdom in an affair that so much concerned himself and them; and besides the displeasure, and distance, that it caused between them and the King's Council (who thought the *Scottish* Lords might as reasonably move the King, that They might be removed, who lay under the same brand, and reproaches in *England* for adhering to the Crown, as the other did in *Scotland*) the King had reason to be troubled with another apprehension, which was, that the Marquis of *Mountrose* (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other Persons said or did) would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon those Persons whom he contemned too much; and so that the Peace of the Country, where his Majesty was but a Guest, would be violated by his Subjects, as it were in his own sight; which would make his absence from thence, the more desirable.

He, to whom this unreasonable Animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great Fomenter, and Prosecutor of it, was the Earl of *Lautherdale*; whose fiery Spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the Council conferring one day with him upon a Subject that could not put him into

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Earl of Lau-
therdale's
discourse
against
Mountrose.

passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desired him "to inform him, what foul Offence the
" Marquis of *Mountrose* had ever committed, that
" should hinder those to make a conjunction with
" him, who, in respect of the Rebels, were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who could not
" more desire the King's Restoration than he did."

The Earl told him calmly enough, "that he could
" not imagine, or conceive the Barbarities and Inhumanities *Mountrose* was guilty of, in the time he
" made a War in *Scotland*; that he never gave Quarter to any Man, but pursued all the Advantages he
" ever got, with the utmost outrage and Cruelty:
" that he had in one Battle killed fifteen hundred of
" one Family, of the *Campbels*, of the blood and name
" of *Argyle*, and that he had utterly rooted out several
" Names, and entire noble Families." The other told him, "that it was the Nature and Condition of that
" War, that Quarter was given on neither side;
" that those Prisoners which were taken by the
" *Scots*, as once they did take some Persons of Honor
" of his Party, were afterwards in cold blood hanged
" reproachfully, which was much worse than if they
" had been killed in the Field;" and asked him, "if
" *Mountrose* had ever caused any Man to die in
" cold Blood, or after the Battle was ended; since
" what was done in it *flagrante*, was more to be imputed to the fierceness of his Soldiers, than to his
" want of humanity." The Earl confessed, "that he
" did not know he was guilty of any thing but what
" was done in the Field;" but concluded with more passion, "that his behaviour there was so Savage, that

“ *Scotland* would never forgive him.” And in other
Company, where the same Subject was debated, he
swore with great passion, “ that though he wished
“ nothing more in this World than to see the King
“ Restored, he had much rather that he should never
“ be Restored, than that *James Graham* should be
“ permitted to come into the Court:” of which De-
claration of his the King was informed by *William*
Legg and Sir *William Armorer*, who were both present
at the *Hague*, and in the Company, when he said it.

There was at that time in the *Hague* the Lord *New-*
burgh, who, after the Murder of the late King, was
compelled together with his Wife, the Lady *Aubigney*,
to fly out of *England*, *Cromwell* every day making
discoveries of correspondencies which had been be-
tween the King and them. And thereupon they made
an escape from thence, and came to the *Hague*. That
Lord having been too young to have had a part in the
former War, had been then sent by his Majesty’s
direction, to be bred in *France*; from whence he re-
turned not till his Majesty was in the hands of the
Scottish Army; and from that time he performed all
the Offices of Fidelity; and Duty to the King, that a
generous and worthy Person could find any oppor-
tunity for: with which his Majesty was abundantly
satisfied and pleased: and he now Transported himself
and his Wife into *Holland*, that he might leave her
there, and himself attend the King in any Expedition.

This Lady was a Woman of a very great Wit, and
most trusted and conversant in those Intrigues, which
at that time could be best managed and carried on by
Ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all

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Companies: and so she had not been a stranger to the most secret Transactions with the *Scots*, and had much Conversation with the Lord *Lanrick*, during the time the King was at *Hampton-Court*, and whilst he staid afterwards in *London* when the King was Imprisoned in the Isle of *Wight*; and being now both in the *Hague*, they had much Conversation together. She had likewise had long Acquaintance, and Friendship with one of the Council, who, she knew, had been as much trusted as any by the Father, and was believed to have Credit with the present, King, She lamented those Divisions amongst the *Scots*, which every Body spoke of, and every Body knew the disorder they produced in the King's Councils; and said, "she desired nothing more, than that there
" were a good understanding between Duke *Hamilton*
" and Him; which," she said, "she was sure would
" easily be, if they two had but once a frank Confe-
" rence together." The other, who indeed had an esteem for the Duke, seemed very desirous of it: and she thereupon told him, that "the Duke had expres-
" sed to her, that he would be willing to embrace the
" occasion:" and it was so concerted, that within a day or two, they met as by chance at her Lodgings. And she so dexterously introduced them to a Civility towards each other, and to express their Inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general Conversation there, to which she left them, and went herself abroad, they parted with fair professions of future good Will; and the other promised to visit the Duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted, and he was

with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the Duke having commanded his Servant to tell any who came to visit him, that he was asleep. The other, spoke of
 “ the Proclamation, and the manner of inviting the
 “ King into *Scotland*, and of the strange Spirit that
 “ possessed those who governed there, and persuaded
 “ them to imagine it possible, that the King could
 “ ever be prevailed with to take the Covenant, or
 “ that it could be of Advantage to him to do so; since
 “ it could not but much alienate the Affections of all
 “ that Party in *England* that had served his Father,
 “ upon whom he ought chiefly to depend for his Re-
 “ storation to the Government of that Kingdom.”

BOOK
 XII.
 Conference
 between Duke
 Hamilton and
 an English
 Privy Coun-
 sellor concern-
 ing the Affairs
 of Scotland.

Then he spoke of “ the differences and jealousies
 “ which were between those of that Nation who had
 “ an equal desire to serve the King, and seemed to be
 “ equally prosecuted by the Party that now prevail-
 “ ed, which had excluded both;” and wished “ that
 “ some Expedient might be found out to Unite all
 “ those; and particularly that his Grace and the Mar-
 “ quis of *Mountrose* might be reconciled; towards
 “ which, he said, he was sure that the Marquis had
 “ great Inclination, and had always esteemed him a
 “ Man of Honor; which appeared by the Book
 “ which was published, where he was always wor-
 “ thily mentioned, though he had not dealt so well
 “ with many others.”

When the Duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the first part, “ concerning
 “ the Proclamation, and the manner of inviting the
 “ King to come to them, he was not to make any

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“ other judgment by it, than only of the Person of
“ the Marquis of *Argyle*; who, with the Assistance of
“ some few Ministers, and others his Creatures, did
“ at present Govern: that *Argyle* well knew there
“ was an absolute necessity, in respect of the whole
“ People, to Proclaim the King after the Murder of
“ his Father; and therefore he could find no other
“ way to keep him from coming thither, but by
“ clogging the Proclamation and Message with those
“ unworthy Expressions, which might deter him
“ from putting himself into their hands; which *Argyle*
“ did not wish he should do, because in his absence he
“ was sure he should Govern all, being well agreed
“ with *Cromwell* how the Government should be
“ carried; and so the King might be kept out, *Crom-*
“ *well* would support him against all other Parties;
“ but that they both knew well enough, that if his
“ Majesty were once there, the whole Nation would
“ stick to him and obey him.” He confessed, “ that
“ there was generally so great a Superstition for the
“ Covenant, that whosoever should speak against it
“ for the present, would lose all credit, though he did
“ acknowledge it had done much Mischief, and
“ would do more whilst it should be insisted upon;”
“ but, he said, “ that must be a work of time, and
“ an effect of the King’s Government; which would
“ find it necessary, in many other respects, to lessen
“ the power of the Ministers; which being lessened,
“ the Reverence of the Covenant would quickly fall
“ too; and till then He, and all Men, must have
“ patience.” For the second, he said, “ he wished
“ heartily that there could be a Union of all Parties

“ which desired the King’s Restoration, and that the
 “ Animosity against the Marquis of *Mountrose* might
 “ be extinguished. For his own part, that he had only
 “ one Quarrel against him, which was that, by his
 “ unjust Calumnies and Prosecution, he had driven
 “ him into Rebellion; which nothing else could have
 “ done. And for that he always asked God forgive-
 “ nefs from his Heart, and desired nothing more than
 “ to repair his fault by losing his life for the King; and
 “ would, with all his Heart, join to morrow with
 “ the Marquis of *Mountrose*, in carrying on the King’s
 “ Service, though he did believe, in that conjuncture,
 “ the Animosity against the Marquis was so great,
 “ that if he should declare such an Inclination, all his
 “ own Friends would fall from him, and abhor him.”
 He said, “ his own Condition was very hard; for
 “ that having been always bred up in the Church of
 “ *England*, for which he had a great Reverence, he
 “ was forced to comply with the Covenant; which
 “ he perfectly detested, and looked upon it as the ruin
 “ of his Nation; and would be as glad as any Man
 “ of a good opportunity to declare against it.” But,
 said he, “ I dare not say this; and if I did, I should
 “ have no power or credit to serve the King. There is”
 said he, “ a very worthy Gentleman, who Lodges
 “ in this House, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, my Friend
 “ and my Kinsman; who, upon my Conscience, loves
 “ me heartily; and yet I dare say nothing of this to
 “ him, either against the Covenant, or for the Mar-
 “ quis of *Mountrose*: and, if I should, I believe he
 “ would rather chuse to kill me, than to join with
 “ me: so much he is transported with prejudice in

 1800K
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“ both these particulars, and so incapable to hear
“ reason upon either of those Arguments, though, in
“ all other things, few Men have a better Understand-
“ ing, or can discourse more reasonably.”

Whilst they continued in all possible freedom in this conference, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, who it seems was informed of the other's being there, came in his Night-Gown into the Chamber, and so broke off the discourse. The other, after sitting some time in general Conversation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the Duke and him. But as himself told the Lady *Aubigney*, who shortly after died there, “ he could not, without giving jealousy to his Friend
“ *Lautherdale*, which he had no mind to do, spend
“ so much time with the other in private as he could
“ have been willing to have done:” and the death of that Lady lessened the opportunities.

In this unsteady and irresolute condition of the King's Council, it was very manifest, that, how long soever his Majesty should defer the resolution, to what place he would remove, he should not be able to stay long in the place where he was. The States, especially those of *Holland*, let fall somewhat every day in their Councils, and Consultations, “ that the King's residing
“ in the *Hague* would be very inconvenient to them;” and it was the great Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from sending a Message directly to his Majesty, to desire him, “ that he would depart from that Country,
“ as soon as he could.” And there happened an Accident at this time, which made the resolution necessary, and would inevitably have drawn on that Message, which had yet been kept back.

It was touched before, that there was a purpose at B O O K
London, to send over an Envoy from thence into XII.
Holland, to prepare the way for a farther good Intelligence, and Negotiation, which might end in a firm Peace, and a reciprocal Alliance between the two Republics. To that purpose one *Doriflaus*, a Dr. in the Civil Law, was named; who, being born in *Delft* in *Holland*, had been bred at *Leyden*, and afterwards lived long in *London*, having been received into *Gresham-College* as a Professor in one of those Chairs which are endowed for public Lectures in that Society, and had been, from the beginning of the Troubles, in the exercise of the Judge-Advocate's Office in the Earl of *Essex*'s Army. In this conjuncture this Man arrived at the *Hague*, and took his Lodging in a House where Strangers used to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwise for their better accommodation. Whilst he was at Supper, the same Evening that he came to the Town, in Company of many others who used to eat there, half a dozen Gentlemen entered the Room with their Swords drawn, and required those who were at the Table "not to stir; for that there was no harm intended to any but the Agent who came from the Rebels in *England*, who had newly murdered their King." And one of them, who knew *Doriflaus*, pulled him from the Table, and killed him at his Feet: and thereupon they all put up their Swords, and walked leisurely out of the House, leaving those who were in the Room, in much amazement and consternation. Though all who were engaged in the Enterprize, went quietly away, and so out of the Town, info-

Doriflaus, an Agent of the Parliament, killed at the *Hague* by some Scottish Men.

B O O K much as no one of them was ever apprehended, or
XII. called in Question, yet they kept not their own counsel so well (believing they had done a very Heroic act) but that it was generally known they were all *Scottish* Men, and most of them Servants, or Dependents upon the Marquis of *Mountrose*.

The King was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this Accident, which he could not foresee, and easily discerned that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly resent it, in many respects; that the Man who was killed, was in truth their own Subject, and employed to them, as a public Minister, by those with whom they had no mind to have any Quarrel. Upon all which his Majesty concluded, that his presence there, would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides, that there had been the same night some quarrels, and fighting in the Streets between some Servants of the King, and some Gentlemen of the Town; in which a Son of one of the States was dangerously hurt, though he recovered afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon these disorders, to which they had not been accustomed, with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the King. They were highly offended with what was past, and sensible what expostulations, and clamor for Justice they must expect, and sustain from *England*, and what reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those who had been guilty of such a Crime, to escape the Ministers of Justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great scandal to their Government: Yet they proceeded

ceeded very slowly in their Inquisition, and with such formalities as were usual (and which could bring no prejudice to the Offenders ; who were either gone out of their Dominions, or concealed themselves in other Towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discovered) and without so much reflection upon the King, as if they believed that the guilty Persons had any relation to his Service : yet they took notice of “ the Multitude of Strangers which were in “ the Town, and how impossible it would be for “ them to preserve the Peace, and good Government “ thereof, if such resort were not restrained.” They aggravated exceedingly “ the indignity that had been “ offered to the State itself, in the attempt that had “ been made upon a Person under Their Protection, “ and for whose safety the Public faith was, upon the “ matter, engaged ;” with insinuation enough, “ that “ it would be fit for the King to remove from thence.” Of all which his Majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than to expect a plain Injunction from them to do so. He found this the more necessary to be done, since from the time that the *Scottish* Commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuse into the opinions of that People, “ that they were sent from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, “ that was entirely and unanimously at his Majesty’s “ disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to “ take possession of his Government there, where “ there was already an Army preparing to Assist him “ towards the recovery of his other Dominions ; but “ that there was a Party of evil Counsellors about his

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“ Majesty, who dissuaded him from accepting that
 “ their Invitation, except they would be content to
 “ change the Government of their Church, and to
 “ establish Episcopacy there again.” And by these
 insinuations they persuaded many of the States to
 believe, that the defence of Bishops, for whom they
 had no regard, was the sole difference between the
 King and Them, which kept the King from going
 into *Scotland*: So that the King was not without some
 apprehension, that by that mistake and false Informa-
 tion, the States might give him advice to accept the
Scots Invitation. And therefore he sent to the States
 of *Holland*, “ that he had a desire to say somewhat to
 “ them, if they would assign him an Audience the
 “ next day;” which they readily did.

The King
 gives a visit
 to the States
 of Holland,
 and delivers
 them a Me-
 morial.

The King was received in the same manner he had
 been formerly, and being conducted into the Room
 of Council, after a short Compliment, he delivered a
 Paper to them, which he desired might be read, and
 that he might receive their advice thereupon as soon
 as they pleased. The Memorial contained, in the first
 place, his Majesty's acknowledgment of the civilities
 he had received there, and his desire “ that by them
 “ the States - General (who were not at that time
 assembled) “ might be informed of such his Majesty's
 “ sense of their kindness; especially in the full and
 “ high detestation they had expressed of the impious,
 “ and unparalleled Murder of his Royal Father, of
 “ Blessed Memory, their fast and unshaken Ally, by
 “ which the Forms and Rules of all kind of Go-
 “ vernment were no less violated and dissolved, than
 “ that of Monarchy: that he came to inform them

“ that he did intend, in a short time, so to dispose of
“ his Person, as might with God’s blessing most pro-
“ bably advance his Affairs; and that for the better
“ doing thereof, and that he might in so important an
“ Affair receive their particular advice, he should
“ impart to them the true state and condition of his
“ several Dominions. That he needed not inform
“ them of the deplorable condition of his Kingdom
“ of *England*, where the hearts and affections of his
“ Loyal Subjects were so depressed, and kept under
“ by the power and cruelty of those who had Mur-
“ dered their late Sovereign, and who every day
“ gave fresh and bloody instances of their Tyranny,
“ to fright Men from their Allegiance, that for the
“ present no Man could believe that miserable King-
“ dom could be fit for his Majesty to trust his Person
“ in: that in *Scotland*, it is very true, that his Majesty
“ is proclaimed King, but with such limitations, and
“ restrictions against the exercise of his Royal power,
“ that in truth they had only given him the Name,
“ and denied him the Authority: that above five
“ parts of six of the Nobility and chief Gentry of that
“ Kingdom, were likewise excluded from their just
“ Right, and from any part in the Administration of
“ the Public affairs; so that that Kingdom seemed not
“ sufficiently prepared for his Majesty’s reception;
“ but that he hoped, and doubted not, that there
“ would be in a short time a perfect Union, and right
“ understanding between all his Subjects of that his
“ Kingdom, and a due submission and obedience from
“ them all to his Majesty, for that he was resolved
“ (and had never had the least purpose to the con-

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“ trary) to preserve and maintain the Government
“ of Church and State in that Kingdom, as it is estab-
“ lished by the Laws thereof, without any violation
“ or alteration on his part : so that there could be no
“ difference between him and his Subjects of that
“ Kingdom, except they should endeavour, and press
“ his Majesty to alter the Laws and Government of
“ his other Kingdoms ; which as it would be very
“ unreasonable to desire, so it is not in his power to
“ do if he should consent, and join with his Subjects
“ of *Scotland* to that purpose : which made him con-
“ fident, that, when they had thoroughly weighed
“ and considered what was good for themselves, as
“ well as for Him, they would acquiesce with enjoying
“ the Laws and Privileges of that Kingdom, without
“ desiring to infringe or impose upon those of their
“ Brethren and Neighbours.” And his Majesty de-
“ sired the States, “ that if any Persons had endeavour-
“ ed to make any impressions upon them, that he
“ hath, or ever had other intentions or desires, with
“ reference to his Subjects of *Scotland*, than what
“ himself now expressed to them to have, that they
“ would give no credit to them : and assured them,
“ that they should always find him constant to those
“ resolutions, and especially, that all ways and means
“ which might lead to the advancement and propaga-
“ tion of the Protestant Religion, should be so hear-
“ tily embraced by him, that the world should have
“ cause to believe him to be worthy of his Title of
“ *Defender of the Faith*, which he valued as his greatest
“ Attribute.”

This being the true present condition of his two

Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and it being necessary for his Majesty, to give life to the afflicted state of his affairs by his own Personal activity and vigor, he told them, “there remained only, that he should
“impart to them the like State of his other Kingdom
“of *Ireland*; which had likewise sent to him, and
“desired him to repair thither with great importunity: that the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Lieutenant
“there, had concluded a Peace with the Roman-Catholics; and that thereby his Majesty was entirely
“possessed of three parts of four of that his large
“and fruitful Kingdom, and of the Command of
“good Armies, and of many good Ships to be joined
“to his own Fleet; and that he had reason to hope
“and to believe that *Dublin* itself, and the few other
“places, which had submitted to the Rebellious
“power in *England*, either already were, upon the
“knowledge of that odious Parricide, returned to
“their Allegiance, or would speedily be reduced; of
“which he expected every day to receive Advertisement; which if it should fall out, yet he foresaw
“many objections might be made against his going
“thither, not only in regard of the difficulty and
“danger of his passage, but of the jealousies which
“would arise upon the large concessions which were
“made unto the Roman-Catholics of that Kingdom;
“which could not be avoided.” And having thus given them a clear Information of the State of his three Kingdoms, his Majesty concluded with his desire,
“that the States would give him their advice as
“freely, to which of them he should repair; and that
“they would give him all necessary assistance that he
“might prosecute their Counsel.”

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Many Men feared, that the King would have brought great prejudice to himself by this Communication, and, upon the matter, obliged himself to follow their Advice ; which they apprehended would be contrary to his own Judgment. For nothing was more commonly discoursed among the *Dutch*, and by many of the States themselves, than “ that the King ought, “ without delay, to throw himself into the Arms of “ *Scotland*, and to gratify them in all they desired : “ that Bishops were not worth the contending for ; “ and that the supporting Them , had been the ruin “ of his Father, and would be His, if he continued in “ the same obstinacy.” But the King had reason to believe that they would not so much concern themselves in his broken Affairs, as to give him advice what to do : and it was necessary for him to get a little more time, upon some occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a positive resolution which way to steer : for though, in his own opinion, *Ireland* was the place to which he was to repair, yet he knew that notwithstanding the Peace that was made, there were several Parties still in Arms there, besides those who adhered to the Parliament , who refused to submit to that Peace. Though the general Council at *Kilkenny* (which had been always looked upon as the Representative of the Confederate Catholics of that Kingdom , and to which they had always submitted) had fully consented to the Treaty of Peace with the Lord Lieutenant, yet *Owen O Neile*, who had the Command of all the *Irish* in *Ulster*, and who was looked upon as the best General they had, totally refused to submit to it, and positively protested

against it, as not having provided for their Interest; and the Council was not sorry for his separation, there being little less animosity between those of *Ulster* and the other *Irish*, than was between them both and the *English*: and they knew that *O Neile* more insisted upon recompence in Lands and Preferments, than upon any provision that concerned Religion itself. Then the *Scots* in *Ulster*, who were very numerous, and under good discipline, and well provided with Arms and Ammunition, would not submit to the Commands of the Lord Lieutenant; but were resolved to follow the Example of their Country-men, and to see the King admitted and received, as well as proclaimed, before they would submit to his Authority: which made the Marquis of *Ormond* the less troubled at the Obstinacy of *O Neile* (though he had used all the means he had to draw him in) since he presumed the *Scots* and He would mortify each other, during the time that he should spend in making himself strong enough to suppress them both: For the *Scots*, who would not join with the Marquis, were very vigorous in prosecuting the War against *O Neile*, and the *Irish* of *Ulster*. These Divisions, Factions, and Confusions in *Ireland*, made the King the more solicitous that his Council should be unanimous for his going thither, at least that the *Scots*, how virulent soever against each other, should all concur in their Advice, "that it was not yet seasonable for him to go * for *Scotland*;" which made him labor so much to bring the *Hamiltonians*, and those who followed *Mountrose*, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it jointly to the

B O O K XII. King in Council: but it is said before how impossible it was to obtain that Conjunction.

When the King found, that it was not possible to bring the Lords of the *Scottish* Nation together to confer upon the Affairs of that Kingdom, he thought to have drawn them severally, that is, those of the *Engagement* by themselves, and the Marquis of *Mountrose* with His Friends by themselves, to have given him their Advice in the presence of his Council, that so, upon Debate thereof between them, his Majesty might the more maturely have determined what he was to do. The Marquis of *Mountrose* expressed a great willingness to give his Majesty satisfaction this, or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning Things, or Persons, before any Body, and in any place. But the Lords of the *Engagement* positively refused to deliver their opinion, but to the King himself, and not in the presence of his Council; which, they said, “ would be to confess a kind of subordination of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was independent on the Council of *England* ;” and Duke *Hamilton* told the Counsellor, with whom he had before so freely conversed, and who expostulated with him upon it, “ that it was the only ground of the heavy judgment in Parliament against the Earl of *Traquair*, that, having been the King’s Commissioner in *Scotland*, he gave account to the King of transactions, and of the affairs of that Kingdom, at the Council-Table in *England*; whereof he was likewise a Member; so jealous that Kingdom was, and still is, of their Native Privileges ;” and therefore desired, “ that he might not be pressed to do what had been so penal to another in his own sight. ”

The King satisfied himself with having all their opinions delivered to himself, subscribed under all their hands, which every one consented to: though most of them would have been glad that the King would have gone into *Scotland*, upon what concessions soever; because they all believed His presence would easily turn all, and that they should be quickly restored to their Estates, which they cared most for; yet nobody presumed to give that advice, or seemed to think it seasonable. So that the King resumed the former Debate of going directly for *Ireland*, and direction was given for providing Ships, and all other things necessary for that Voyage. There remained only one doubt, whether his Majesty should take *France* in his way, that he might see his Mother, who by Letters and Messages pressed him very earnestly so to do; or whether he should embark in *Holland* directly for *Ireland*; which would be less loss of time, and might be done early in the Spring, before the Parliament's Fleet should put out to Sea.

They who did not wish that the Queen should exercise any power over the King, or have too much credit with him, were against his going into *France*, as “an occasion of spending more time than his Affairs
“ would permit, and an obligation to make a greater
“ Expence than he had, or knew where to have, means
“ to defray:” and they thought it an Argument of moment, “that from the time of the Murder of his
“ Father, the King had never received Letter of condolment from *France*, nor the least invitation to go
“ thither.” On the other side, they who wished, and hoped that the Queen would have such an influence

B O O K upon the King that his Council should have less credit
 XII. with him, desired very much that his Majesty would make *France* his way. The *Scots* desired it very much, believing they should find her Majesty very propitious to their Counsels, and inclined to trust their undertakings; and they were very sure that *Mountrose* would never go to *Paris*, or have credit with the Queen.

The Prince of *Orange*, and the Princess Royal his Wife, had a great desire to gratify the Queen, and that the King should see her in the way; and proposed
 “ that his Majesty might appoint a place, where the
 “ Queen and He might meet, without going to *Paris*;
 “ and, after three or four days stay together, his Ma-
 “ jesty might hasten his Journey to some convenient
 “ Port, from whence he might embark for *Ireland* by
 “ a shorter passage than from *Holland*; and the Prince
 “ of *Orange* would appoint two Ships of War, to at-
 “ tend his Majesty in that *French* Port, before he
 “ should get thither. His Majesty inclined this way, without positively resolving upon it; yet directed
 “ that his own Goods of bulk, and his inferior Ser-
 “ vants, should be presently embarked to take the
 “ directest passage to *Ireland*,” and ordered “ that
 “ the rest, who were to wait upon his Person, should
 “ likewise send their Goods and Baggage, and such
 “ Servants who were not absolutely necessary for
 “ their present Service, upon the same Ships for
 “ *Ireland*,” declaring, “ that, if he made *France* his
 “ way, he would make all possible haste, and go with
 “ as light a train as he could.” Hereupon two Ships were shortly after provided, and many Persons (and great store of Baggage) embarked for *Ireland*, and

arrived there in safety ; but most of the Persons, and all the Goods, miscarried in their return, when they knew that the King was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

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This Resolution being taken, the Lord *Cottington*, who had a just excuse from his Age, being then seventy-five years old, to wish to be in some repose, considered with himself how to become disentangled from the fatigue of those Voyages and Journies, which he saw the King would be obliged to make. In *Holland* he had no mind to stay, having never loved that People, nor been loved by them ; and he thought the Climate itself was very pernicious to his health, by reason of the Gout, which frequently visited him. *France* was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was looked upon as one who had been always addicted to *Spain*, and no friend to the Crown of *France* ; so that he was willing to find a good occasion to spend the remainder of his age where he had spent so much of his youth, in *Spain*, and where he believed that he might be able to do the King more Service than any other way. And there was newly come to the *Hague* an *English* Gentleman, who had been an Officer in the King's Army, and was in *Madrid* when the News came thither of the Murder of the King : and he related many particulars of the passion and indignation of that Court, upon that occasion, against the Rebels ; that " the King, and all " the Court, put themselves into solemn Mourning : " (and he repeated some Expressions which the King, and *Don Lewis de Haro* had made of tenderness and compassion for our King) and that " the King of *Spain* " spoke of sending an Ambassador to his Majesty."

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Conference
between the
Lord Cotting-
ton and the
Chancellor of
the Exchequer
concerning the
King's sending
an Embassy
into Spain.

These relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly soever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the Lord *Cottington* took occasion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer (with whom he held a strict Friendship, they living, and keeping House together) of “ the ill condition the King was in, and that he ought to think, what Prince’s kindness was like to be of most use and benefit to his Majesty, and from whom he might hope to receive a Sum of Money; if not as much as might serve for a Martial Expedition, yet such an annual Exhibition as might serve for his support: that he had already experience of *France*, and knew well the Intelligence that the Cardinal had at that very time with *Cromwell*: but he did verily believe, that if the King of *Spain* were dexterously treated with, and not more asked of him than could consist with his Affairs to spare, a good yearly support might be procured There, and the expectation of it might be worth the King’s sending an Ambassador thither.” He said, “ he was more of that opinion since the King had taken the resolution of going for *Ireland*; where the King of *Spain*’s credit might be of great benefit to him: that *Owen O Neile*, and the old *Irish* of *Ulster*, were still in Arms against the King; and would not submit to the conditions which the general Council of the Confederate Catholics had consented to with the Marquis of *Ormond*: that *O Neile* had been bred in *Spain*, and had a Regiment in *Flanders*, and so must have an absolute dependance upon his Catholic Majesty, for whom all the old *Irish* had ever had a particular

“ devotion; and if it were only to dispose Him and
“ that People to the King’s obedience, and to accept
“ those conditions which might conveniently be
“ given to them, it were well worth such a Journey;
“ and the King of *Spain* would never refuse to gratify
“ the King to the utmost that could be desired in that
“ particular.” The Chancellor thought this discourse
not unreasonable, and asked him, “ who would be
“ fit to be sent thither?” not imagining that he had
“ any thought of going thither Himself He Answered.
“ that, if the King would be advised by him, he
“ should send them two thither, and he did believe
“ they should do him very good Service.”

The Chancellor was weary of the Company he was in, and the business, which, having no prospect but towards despair, was yet rendered more grievous by the continual Contentions and Animosities between Persons. He knew he was not in the Queen’s Favor at all, and should find no respect in that Court. However, he was very scrupulous, that the King might not suspect that he was weary of his Attendance, or that any Body else might believe that he withdrew himself from waiting longer upon so desperate a Fortune. In the end, he told the Lord *Cottington*, “ that
“ he would only be passive in the point, and refer it
“ entirely to Him, if he thought fit to dispose the King
“ to like it; and if the King approved it so much as
“ to take notice of it to the Chancellor, and commend
“ it as a thing he thought for his Service, he would
“ submit to his Command.”

The Lord *Cottington*’s Heart was much set upon this employment, and he managed so warily with the

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The King
declares those
two to be his
Ambassadors.

King, and presented the whole Scheme to him so dexterously, that his Majesty was much pleased with it; and shortly after declared his Resolution publicly, “to send the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of “the Exchequer, his Ambassadors Extraordinary “into *Spain*,” and Commanded them “to prepare “their own Commission, and Instructions; and to “begin their Journey as soon as was possible.”

Before the King could begin his own Journey for *France*, and so to *Ireland*, his Majesty thought it necessary, upon the whole prospect of his Affairs with reference to all places, to put his business into as good a method as he could, and to dispose of that number of Officers, and Soldiers, and other Persons, who had presented themselves to be applied to his Service, or to leave them to take the best course they could for their own Subsistence. Of these, many were sent into *Ireland* with the Ships which carried the King's Goods, with recommendation to the Marquis of *Ormond*, “to put them into his Army till the King came “thither.” Since the *Scots* where no better disposed to serve, or receive the King for the present, his Majesty was resolved to give the Marquis of *Mountrose* all the Encouragement he desired to visit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

There was then at the *Hague* *Cornificius Wolfelte*, Ambassador extraordinary from the King of *Denmark* to the States-General; who came with a great Train and great State, and was himself a Man of vanity and ostentation, and took pains to be thought so great a Man by his own Interest, that he did not enough extol the power of his Master; which proved his ruin

after his return. He had left *Denmark* before the News came thither of the Murder of the King, and so he had no Credentials for his Majesty, by reason whereof he could not receive any public formal Audience; but desired "the King's leave that he might, as "by accident, be admitted to speak to him at the "Queen of *Bohemia's* Court;" where his Majesty used to be every day; and there the Ambassador often spoke to him. The Marquis of *Mountrose* had found means to endear himself much to this Ambassador, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in *Denmark*, if the King would send him thither, and that he might obtain Arms, and Ammunition there for *Scotland*. The Ambassador told him, "that, if the King would write a Letter to him to that "purpose, he would presently supply him with some "Money and Arms, in assurance that his Majesty, "would very well approve of what he should do." The Marquis of *Mountrose* well knew, that the King was not able to supply him with the least proportion of Money to begin his Journey; and therefore he had only proposed, "that the King would give him Letters, in the form he prescribed, to several Princes "in *Germany*, whose affections he pretended to "know;" which Letters he sent by several Officers, who were to bring the Soldiers or Arms they should obtain, to a Rendezvous he appointed near *Hamburgh*; and resolved himself to go into *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in hope to get supplies in both those places, both from the Crowns, and by the contribution of many *Scottish* Officers, who had Command and Estates in those Countries; and to have Credentials, by virtue of

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The Marquis
of Mountrose
goes to Ham-
burgh.

which he might appear Ambassador extraordinary from the King, if he should find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negotiate his business in private, and without any public Character. All this was resolved before his confidence, at least his familiarity with the Ambassador, was grown less. But, upon the Encouragement he had from him, he moved the King
 “ for his Letter to the Ambassador, to assist the Mar-
 “ quis of *Mountrose* with his Advice, and with his
 “ Interest in *Denmark*, and in any other Court, to the
 “ end that he might obtain the Loan of Monies,
 “ Arms, and Ammunition, and whatever else was
 “ necessary to enable the Marquis to prosecute his
 “ intended Descent into *Scotland*.” The King, glad that he did not press for ready Money, which he was not able to supply him with, gave him such Letters as he desired to all Persons, and particularly to the Ambassador himself, who, having order from his Master to present the King with a Sum of Money for his present occasions, never informed the King thereof, but advised *Mountrose* to procure such a Letter from his Majesty to him; which being done, the Marquis received that Money from him, and likewise some Arms; with which he begun his unfortunate Enterprise; and prosecuted his Journey to *Hamburgh*; where he expected to meet his *German* Troops, which he believed the Officers he had sent thither with the King’s Letters would be well able to raise, with the assistance of those Princes to whom they had been sent. But he was carried on by a stronger assurance he had received from some prophecies, and predictions, to which he was naturally given, “ that he should by
 “ his

“ his valor recover *Scotland* for the King, and from
 “ thence conduct an Army that should settle his Ma-
 “ jesty in all his other Dominions.”

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There had been yet nothing done by the King with reference to *England* since the Murder of his Father; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was so terrible a Consternation, that still possessed the Spirits of that People, that though Men's Affections were greater, and more general for the King, out of the Horror and Detestation they had of the late Parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken Courage; nor was it believed possible for any Man to contribute any thing, at present, for their Deliverance. However, most Men were of opinion, “ that it was necessary for
 “ the King to publish some Declaration, that he might
 “ not seem utterly to give over his Claim there; and
 “ to keep up the Spirits of his Friends.” And many from *England*, who in the midst of their despair would give some Counsel, advised, “ that there might be
 “ somewhat published by the King that might give
 “ some Check to the general submitting to the En-
 “ gagement, which was so universally pressed there.” The King being every day advertised, how much this was desired and expected, and the *Scottish* Lords being of the same opinion, hoping that somewhat might be inserted in it that might favor the Presbyterians, his Majesty proposed at the Council “ that
 “ there might be some draught prepared of a Procla-
 “ mation, or Declaration, only with reference to the
 “ Kingdom of *England*,” and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been most conversant in Instru-

The Chan-
 cellor of the
 Exchequer
 appointed to
 make a De-
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 lating to
 England.

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ments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, “ that he did not
“ know what such a Declaration could contain, and
“ therefore that he thought it not seasonable to
“ publish any.” The Prince of *Orange* was present at that Council, and whether from his own opinion, or from the Suggestion of the *Scottish* Lords, who were much favored by him, he wished, “ that, in regard of
“ the great differences which were in *England* about
“ matters of Religion, the King would offer, in this
“ Declaration, to refer all matters in controversy concerning Religion to a National Synod; in which
“ there should be admitted some Foreign Divines
“ from the Protestant Churches;” which, he thought, would be a Popular Clause, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the King believed no objection could be made against it; and so thought fit that such a Clause should be inserted.

Within a short time after the Council was parted, the Prince of *Orange* sent for the Lord *Cottington*, and told him, “ he was not enough acquainted with the
“ Chancellor of the Exchequer, but desired him to
“ intreat him not to be too sharp in this Declaration,
“ the end whereof was to Unite, and Reconcile different Humors; and that he found many had a
“ great apprehension, that the sharpness of His Style
“ would irritate them much more.” The Chancellor knew well enough that this came from the Lord *Lautherdale*, and he wished heartily that the Charge might be committed to any Body else, protesting, “ that he was never less disposed in his own conceptions, and reflections, to undertake any such Task

“ in his Life ; and that he could not imagine how it
“ was possible for the King to publish a Declaration
“ at that time (his first Declaration) without much
“ sharpness against the Murderers of his Father ;”
which no Body could speak against ; nor could he be
excused from the Work imposed upon him : and the
Prince of *Orange* assured him, “ it was not That kind
“ of sharpness which he wished should be declined :”
and though he seemed not willing farther to explain
himself, it was evident that he wished that there might
not be any sharpness against the Presbyterians, for
which there was at that time no occasion.

There was one particular, which, without a full and
distinct Instruction, the Chancellor could not presume
to express. The great end of this Declaration was to
confirm the Affection of as many as was possible for the
King, and, consequently, as few were to be made
desperate, as might consist with the King's Honor, and
necessary Justice : so that how far that Clause, which
was essential to a Declaration upon this subject, con-
cerning the Indemnity of Persons, should extend, was
the question. And in this there was difference of
opinions ; the most prevalent was, “ that no Persons
“ should be excepted from Pardon, but only such
“ who had an immediate hand in the execrable Mur-
“ der of the King, by being his Judges, and pronoun-
“ cing that Sentence, and they who performed the
“ Execution.” Others said, they “ knew that some
“ were in the List of the Judges, and named by the
“ Parliament, who found Excuses to be absent ;” and
others, that “ some who were not named, more con-
“ trived and contributed to that odious proceeding,

B O O K XII. “ than many of the Actors in it.” But the resolution was, that the former should be only comprehended.

When the Declaration was prepared, and read at the Board, there was a deep Silence, no Man speaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for a second reading it, against which time every Man might be better prepared to speak to it: and in the mean time the Prince of *Orange*, in regard he was not a perfect Master of the *English* Tongue, desired he might have a Copy of it, that he might the better understand it. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer desired, “ that not only the Prince of *Orange* might “ have a Copy, but that his Majesty would likewise “ have one, and, after he should have perused it himself, he would show it to any other, who he thought “ was fit to advise with;” there being many Lords and other Persons of Quality about him, who were not of the Council: and he moved, “ that he might “ have liberty himself to Communicate it to some “ who were like to make a judgment, how far any “ thing of that Nature was like to be acceptable, and “ agreeable to the minds of the People;” and named *Herbert* the Attorney-General, and *Dr. Steward*, who was Dean of the Chapel; and His opinion, in all things relating to the Church, the King had been advised by his Father to submit to. All which was approved by the King: and, for that reason, a farther day was appointed for the second reading. The Issue was, that, except two or three of the Council, who were of one and the same opinion of the whole, there were not two Persons who were admitted to the perusal of it, who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception.

Different
opinions in the
King's Council
about it when
it was read.

Doctor *Steward*, though a Man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly grieved at the Clause of admitting Foreign Divines into a Synod that was to Consult upon the Church of *England*, that he could not be satisfied by any Arguments that could be given of “the impossibility of any effect, or
 “that the Parliament would accept the Overture;
 “and that there could be no danger if it did, because
 “the Number of those Foreign Divines must be still
 “limited by the King;” but came one Morning to the Chancellor, with whom he had a Friendship, and protested “he had not slept that Night, out of the
 “Agony and Trouble, that He, who he knew loved
 “the Church so well, should consent to a Clause so
 “much against the Honor of it;” and went from him to the King, to beseech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion “that there were too few excepted
 “from Pardon; by which the King would not have
 “Confiscations enough to satisfy, and reward his
 “Party: and others thought, that there were too
 “many excepted; and that it was not prudent to
 “make so many Men desperate; but that it would be
 “sufficient to except *Cromwell*, and *Bradshaw*, and
 “three or four more of those whose Malice was most
 “notorious; the whole Number not to exceed Six.”

The *Scots* did not value the Clause for Foreign Divines, who, they knew, could persuade little in an *English* Synod; but they were implacably offended, that the King mentioned the Government of the Church of *England*, and the Book of Common-Prayer, with so much Reverence and Devotion; which was the sharpness they most feared of the Chancellor’s

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Style, when they thought now the Covenant to be necessary to be insisted upon more than ever. So that, when the Declaration was read at the Board the second time, most Men being moved with the discourses, and fears which were expressed abroad of some ill effects it might produce, it was more faintly Debated, and Men seemed not to think that the publishing any, at this time, was of so much importance, as they formerly had conceived it to be. By all which Men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the King to resolve, and act with that steadiness and resolution, which the most unprosperous Condition doth more require than the State that is less perplexed and entangled. Thus the Declaration slept without farther proposition to publish any.

Upon which it
was laid aside.

All things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two Ambassadors for *Spain* were very solicitous to begin their Journey; the King being at last resolved not to give his Mother the trouble of making a Journey to meet him, but to go himself directly to *St. Germain's*, where her Majesty was. The Prince of *Orange*, to advance that resolution, had promised to supply the King with twenty thousand pounds; which was too great a Loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the King to discharge the debts He and his Family had contracted at the *Hague*, and to make his Journey. Out of this Sum the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, were to receive so much as was designed to defray their Journey to *Paris*: what was necessary for the discharge of their Embassy, or for making their Journey from

Paris, was not yet provided. The King had some hope, that the Duke of *Lorraine* would lend him some Money; which he designed for this service; which made it necessary that they should immediately resort to *Brussels*, to finish that Negotiation, and from thence to prosecute their Journey.

In the soliciting their first despatch at the *Hague*, they made a discovery that seemed very strange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their Journey having been put off some days, only for the receipt of that small Sum, which was to be paid them out of the Money to be lent by the Prince of *Orange*; and *Hemflet* the Prince's chief Officer in such affairs of Money, having been some days at *Amsterdam* to negotiate that Loan, and no Money being returned, they believed that there was some affected delay; and so went to the Prince of *Orange*, who had advised, and was well pleased with that Embassy, to know when that Money would be ready for the King, that he might likewise resolve upon the time for his own Journey. The Prince told them, he believed, "that They, who
" knew *London* so well, and had heard so much discourse of the Wealth of *Holland*, would wonder
" very much that he should have been endeavouring
" above ten days to borrow twenty thousand pounds,
" and that the richest Men in *Amsterdam* had promised him to supply him with it, and that one half
" of it was not yet provided." He said, "it was not
" that there was any question of his credit, which was
" very good; and that the security he gave, was as
" good as any Body desired, and upon which he

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“ could have double the Sum in less time, if he would
 “ receive it in Paper, which was the Course of that
 “ Country; where bargains being made for one
 “ hundred thousand pounds to be paid within ten
 “ days, it was never known that twenty thousand
 “ pounds was paid together in one Town; but by
 “ Bills upon *Rotterdam*, *Harlem*, the *Hague*, and *Ant-*
 “ *werp*, and other places, which was as convenient,
 “ or more, to all Parties; and he did verily believe,
 “ that though *Amsterdam* could pay a Million within
 “ a Month, upon any good occasion, yet they would
 “ be troubled to bring twenty thousand pounds to-
 “ gether into any one Room; and that was the true
 “ reason, that the Money was not yet brought to the
 “ *Hague*; which it should be within few days;” as it
 was accordingly.

The Ambaf-
 sadors for
 Spain begin
 their journey.

The Ambassadors took their leave of the King at the *Hague* before the middle of *May*, and had a Yatch from the Prince of *Orange*, that attended them at *Rotterdam*, and transported them with great convenience to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife and his Family were arrived ten days before, and were settled in a good and convenient House; where the Lord *Cottington* and He both Lodged whilst they stayed in that City. There they met the Lord *Jermyn* in his way towards the King, to hasten the King's Journey into *France*, upon the Queen's great importunity. He was very glad they were both come away from the King, and believed he should more easily prevail with his Majesty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days stay at *Antwerp*, they went to *Brussels* to deliver their Credentials both to the Arch-Duke, and

the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to visit the *Spanish* Ministers, and, upon their Landing at *Brussels*, they took it for a good Omen, that they were assured “that *le Brune*, who had been one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of *Munster*, on the behalf of the King of *Spain*, was then in that Town with Credentials to visit the King, and to condole with him.” They had an audience, the next day, of the Arch-Duke: they performed the Compliments to him from the King, and informed him of their Embassy into *Spain*, and desired his recommendation, and good Offices in that Court; which he, according to his slow, and formal way of speaking, consented to: and they had no more to do with Him, but received the visits from the Officers, in his Name, according to the style of that Court. Their main business was with the Duke of *Lorrain*, to procure Money for their Journey into *Spain*.

They visit the Duke of Lorrain at Brussels.

The Duke was a Prince that lived in a different manner from all other Sovereign Princes in the world: from the time, that he had been driven out of his Country by *France*, he had retired to *Brussels* with his Army, which he kept up very strong; and served the King of *Spain* with it against the *French*, upon such terms, and conditions, as were made, and renewed every year between them; by which he received great Sums of Money yearly from the *Spaniard*, and was sure very rich in Money. He always commanded apart in the field, his Officers received no Orders but from himself: he always agreed at the Council of War what he should do, and his Army was in truth the best part of the *Spanish* Forces. In the Town of

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Brussels he lived without any order, method, or state of a Prince, except towards the *Spaniards* in his Treaties, and being present in their Councils, where he always kept his full Dignity: otherwise, he lived in a jolly familiarity with the Bourgeois and their Wives, and feasted with them, but scarce kept a Court or any number of Servants, or Retinue. The House wherein he lived was a very ordinary one, and not furnished; nor was he often there, or easy to be found; so that the Ambassadors could not easily send to him for an Audience. He received them in a lower Room with great Courtesy and Familiarity; and visited them at their own Lodging. He was a Man of great wit, and presence of mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no man knew better how to act the Prince. He loved his Money very much; yet the Lord *Cottington's* dexterity and address prevailed with him to lend the King two thousand Pistoles; which was all that was in their view for defraying their Embassy. But they hoped they should procure some supply in *Spain*, out of which their own necessary expenses must be provided for.

There were two *Spaniards*, by whom all the Councils there were governed and conducted, and which the Arch-Duke himself could not control; the Conde of *Pignoranda* (who was newly come from *Munster*, being the other Plenipotentiary there; and stayed only at *Brussels*, in expectation of renewing the Treaty again with *France*; but, whilst he stayed there, was in the highest Trust of all the affairs) and the Conde of *Fuensaldagna*, who was the Governor of the Arms, and commanded the Army next under the Arch-

Duke; which was a subordination very little inferior to the being General. They were both very able and expert men in business, and if They were not very wise men, that Nation had none. The former was a Man of the Robe, of a great wit, and much experience, proud, and, if he had not been a little too pedantic, might very well be looked upon as a very extraordinary Man, and was much improved by the excellent temper of *le Brune* (the other Plenipotentiary) who was indeed a wise Man, and by seeming to defer in all things to *Pignoranda*, governed him. The *Conde of Fuenfaldagna* was of a much better temper, more industry, and more insinuation than *Spaniards* use to have: his greatest Talent lay to Civil business; yet he was the best General of that time to all other offices and purposes, than what were necessary in the hour of Battle, when he was not so present and composed as at all other seasons.

Both these received the Ambassadors with the usual Civilities, and returned their visits to their own Lodging, but seemed not pleased with their Journey to *Madrid*, and spoke much of the necessities that Crown was in, and its disability to assist the King; which the Ambassadors imputed to the influence *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* had upon them both; who remained still under the same Character in *England* he had done for many years before. The same civilities were performed between *le Brune* and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encouraged them to hope well from their Negotiation in *Spain*; acquainted them with his own Instructions, “to give the King all
“assurance of the affection of his Catholic Majesty,

BOOK XII. “ and of his readines to do any thing for him that
 “ was in his power.” He said, “ he only deferred his
 “ Journey, because he heard that the King intended
 “ to spend some time at *Breda*; and he had rather
 “ attend him There, than at the *Hague*.”

When the Ambassadors had despatched all their business at *Brussels*, and received the Money from the Duke of *Lorraine*, they returned to *Antwerp*; where they were to negotiate for the return of their Monies to *Madrid*; which required very much wariness, the Bills from thence finding now more difficulties at *Madrid*, than they had done in former times.

By the Letters my Lord *Jermyn* brought, and the importunity he used, the King resolved to begin his Journey sooner than he thought to have done, that is sooner than he thought he should have been able, all provisions being to begin to be made both for his Journey into *France*, and from thence into *Ireland*, after the Money was received that should pay for them. But the Queen's impatience was so great to see his Majesty, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Princess Royal his Wife, were as impatient to give her that satisfaction. Though her Majesty could not justly dislike any resolution the King had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into *Ireland*, she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution at all had been taken before she was consulted. She was angry that the Counsellors were chosen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude Her from meddling in the Affairs; all which she imputed principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer: nevertheless she was not

pleased with the design of the Negotiation in *Spain*. For though she had no confidence of his affection to Her, or rather of his complying with all her Commands, yet she had all confidence in his Duty and Integrity to the King, and therefore wished he should be still about his Person, and trusted in his business; which she thought him much fitter for than such a Negotiation, which she believed, out of her natural prejudice to *Spain*, would produce no advantage to the King.

That the Queen might receive some content, in knowing that the King had begun his Journey, the Prince of *Orange*, desired him, “whilst his Servants
“prepared what was necessary at the *Hague*, that
“Himself, and that part of his Train that was ready,
“would go to *Breda*, and stay there till the rest were
“ready to come up to him;” that being his best way to *Flanders*, through which he must pass into *France*. *Breda* was a Town of the Prince’s own, where he had a handsome Palace and Castle, and a place where the King might have many Divertisements. Hither the *Spanish* Ambassador *le Brune*, came to attend his Majesty, and delivered his Master’s Compliments to his Majesty, and offered his own Services to him, whilst he should remain in those Provinces; he being at that time designed to remain Ambassador to the united Provinces; as he did; and died shortly after at the *Hague* with a general regret. He was born a Subject to the King of *Spain*, in that part of *Burgundy* that was under his Dominion; and having been from his youth always bred in business, and being a Man of great Parts, and Temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the best Statesmen in Christendom,

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The King
removes to
Breda.

B O O K and who best understood the true interest of all the
XII. Princes of *Europe*.

As soon as the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, heard of the King's being at *Breda*, and that he intended to hasten his Journey for *France*, they resolved, having in truth not yet negotiated all things necessary for their Journey, to stay till the King passed by, and not to go to St. *Germain's* till the first interview, and eclaircissements were passed between the King and Queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what Weather was like to be.

Thence to
 Antwerp :

The King was received at *Antwerp* with great magnificence: he entered in a very rich Coach with six Horses, which the Arch-Duke sent a present to him when he came into the *Spanish* Dominions: he was treated there, at the Charge of the City, very splendidly for two days: and went then to *Brussels*, where he was lodged in the Palace, and Royally entertained. But the *French* Army, under the Command of the *Comte de Harcourt*, was two days before set down before *Cambray*; with the News whereof the *Spanish* Council was surpris'd, and in so much disorder, that the Arch-Duke was gone to the Army to *Mons*, and *Valenciennes*, whilst the King was in *Antwerp*; so that the King was received only by his Officers; who performed their parts very well.

Thence to
 Brussels.

Here the *Conde* of *Pignoranda* waited upon the King in the Quality of an Ambassador, and covered. And his Majesty stay'd here three or four days, not being able suddenly to resolve which way he should pass into *France*. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the *French* thought to have surpris'd that

Town, and to have cast up their Line of Circumval-
 lation before any Supplies could be put in; but the
Conde Fuenfaldagna found a way to put seven or eight
 hundred Foot into the Town; upon which the *French*
 raised the Siege; and so the King made his Journey by
 the usual way; and, near *Valenciennes*, had an inter-
 view with the Arch-Duke; and, after some short
 Ceremonies, continued on his Journey, and Lodged
 at *Cambray*; where he was likewise treated by the
Conde de Garcies, who was Governor there, and a
 very civil Gentleman.

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The King had
 an interview
 with the Arch-
 Duke near
Valenciennes.

About a week after the King left *Brussels*, the two
 Ambassadors prosecuted their Journey for *Paris*;
 where they stayed only one day, and then went to *St.*
Germain's; where the King and the Queen his Mother,
 with both their Families, and the Duke of *York*, then
 were; by whom they were received graciously. They
 had no reason to repent their caution in staying so
 long behind the King, for they found the Court so full
 of jealousy and disorder, that every Body was glad
 that they were come. After the first two or three days
 that the King and Queen had been together, which
 were spent in tears and lamentations for the great
 alteration that had happened since their last parting,
 the Queen began to confer with the King of his
 business, and what course he meant to take; in which
 she found him so reserved, as if he had no mind she
 should be conversant in it. He made no Apologies to
 her; which she expected; nor any professions of re-
 signing himself up to Her advice. On the contrary,
 upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly,
 “ that he would always perform his Duty towards

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“ her with great affection and exactness, but that in
“ his business he would obey his own reason and
“ judgment;” and did as good as desire her not to
trouble herself in his Affairs: and finding her passions
strong, he frequently retired from her with some ab-
ruptness, and seemed not to desire to be so much in
her Company as she expected; and prescribed some
new rules to be observed in his own retirement, which
he had not been accustomed to.

This kind of unexpected behaviour gave the Queen
much trouble. She begun to think, that this distance,
which the King seemed to affect, was more than the
Chancellor of the Exchequer could wish, and that
there was some Body else, who did her more differ-
vice: infomuch as to the Ladies who were about her,
whereof some were very much his Friends, she seemed
to wish, that the Chancellor were come. There was a
Gentleman, who was newly come from *England*, and
who came to the *Hague* after the Chancellor had taken
his leave of the King, and had been ever since very
close about him, being one of the Grooms of his Bed-
Chamber, one Mr. *Thomas Elliot*, a Person spoken
of before; whom the King's Father had formerly sent
into *France*, at the same time that he resolved the
Prince should go for the West; and for no other reason,
but that he should not attend upon his Son. And he
had given order, “ that if he should return out of
“ *France*, and come into the West, the Council should
“ not suffer him to be about the Prince;” with whom
he thought he had too much credit, and would use it
ill; and he had never seen the Prince from the time he
left *Oxford* till now, He was a bold Man, and spoke
all

Mr. Elliot
comes to the
King: his
influence upon
his Majesty.

all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late King which he ought to have had; and less for the Queen; though he had great obligations to both; yet being not so great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as none at all. This Gentleman came to the King just as he left the *Hague*, and both as he was a new-Comer, and as one for whom his Majesty had formerly much kindness, was very well received; and being one who would receive no injury from his Modesty, made the favor the King showed him as bright, and to shine as much in the Eyes of all Men, as was possible. He was never from the Person of the King, and always whispering in his Ear, taking upon him to understand the sense and opinion of all the Loyal party in *England*: and when he had a mind that the King should think well, or ill of any Man, he told him, "that he was much beloved by, or very
" odious to all his Party there." By these infusions, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the Earl of *Bristol*, who came from *Caen* (where he had hitherto resided) to kiss his hands, than his own good nature would have inclined him to; and more to discountenance the Lord *Digby*, and to tell him plainly, "that he should not serve him in the
" place of Secretary of State;" in which he had served his Father, and from which Men have seldom been removed upon the Descent of the Crown; and not to admit either Father or Son to be of his Council; which was more extraordinary. He told the King,
" it would be the most unpopular thing he could do,
" and which would lose him more hearts in *England*
" than any other thing, if he were thought to be

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“governed by his Mother.” And in a Month’s time that he had been about the King, he begun already to be looked upon as very like to become the Favorite. He had used the Queen with wonderful neglect when she spoke to him, and had got so much Interest with the King, that he had procured a promise from his Majesty to make Colonel *Windham*, whose Daughter Mr. *Elliot* had Married, Secretary of State; an honest Gentleman, but extremely unequal to that Province; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his Wife had been Nurse to the Prince, who was now King.

In these kind of humors and indispositions the Ambassadors found the Court, when they came to St. *Germain’s*. They had, during their stay at *Paris*, in their way to Court, conferred with the Earl of *Bristol*, and his Son the Lord *Digby*; who breathed out their Grievs to them; and the Lord *Digby* was the more troubled to find that Mr. *Elliot*, who was a known and declared Enemy of his, had gotten so much credit with the King, as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him, by the countenance of his Majesty; in whom, he knew, the King his Father desired, that he should of all Men have the least Interest. After they had been a day or two there, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinking it his Duty to say somewhat to the Queen in particular, and knowing that she expected he should do so, and the King having told him at large all that had passed with his Mother, and the ill humor she was in (all which his Majesty related in a more exalted Dialect than he had been accustomed to) and his Majesty being very willing to understand

what the Queen thought upon the whole, the Chan- B O O K
 cellor asked a private Audience; which her Majesty XII.
 readily granted. And after she had gently expostu- A private
 lated upon the old passages at *Jersey*, she concluded Audience of
 with the mention of the great confidence the King her the Chancellor.
 Husband had always reposed in him, and thereupon with the
 renewed her own gracious professions of good will Queen.
 towards him. Then she complained, not without
 tears, of the King's unkindness towards her, and of
 his way of living with her, of some expressions he had
 used in discourse in her own presence, and of what he
 had said in other places, and of the great credit Mr.
Elliot had with him, and of his rude behaviour to-
 wards her Majesty, and lastly of the incredible design
 of making *Windham* Secretary; "who, besides his
 "other unfitness," she said, "would be sure to join
 "with the other to lessen the King's kindness to her
 "all they could." The Chancellor, after he had
 made all the professions of duty to her Majesty which
 became him, and said what he really believed of the
 King's kindness and respect for her, asked her, "whe-
 "ther she would give him leave to take notice of any
 "thing she had said to him, or, in general, that he
 "found her Majesty unsatisfied with the King's un-
 "kindness?" The Queen replied, "that she was well
 "contented he should take notice of every thing she
 "had said; and, above all, of his purpose to make
 "*Windham* Secretary:" of which the King had not
 made the least mention, though he had taken notice to
 him of most other things the Queen had said to him.

The Chancellor, shortly after, found an oppor-
 tunity to inform the King of all that had passed from

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the Queen, in such a method as might give him occasion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The King heard him very greedily, and protested, “that he desired nothing more than to live very well with the Queen; towards whom he would never fail in his Duty, as far as was consistent with his Honor, and the good of his Affairs; which, at present, it may be, required more reservation towards the Queen, and to have it believed that he Communicated less with Her than he did, or than he intended to do: that, if he did not seem to be desirous of her Company, it was only when she grieved him by some Importunities, in which he could not satisfy her; and that her exception against *Elliot* was very unjust; and that he knew well the Man to be very honest, and that he loved him well; and that the prejudice the King his Father had against him, was only by the malice of the Lord *Digby*, who hated him without a cause, and had likewise informed the Queen of some falsehoods, which had incensed her Majesty against him;” and seemed throughout much concerned to justify *Elliot*, against whom the Chancellor himself had no exceptions, but received more respects from him than he paid to most other Men.

When the Chancellor spoke of making *Windham* Secretary, the King did not own the having promised to do it, but “that he intended to do it:” the Chancellor said, “he was glad he had not promised it; and that he hoped, he would never do it: that he was an honest Gentleman, but in no degree qualified for that Office.” He put him in mind of Secretary

Nicholas, who was then there to present his Duty to him, “that he was a Person of such known affection and honesty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than to pass Him by.” The king said, “he thought Secretary *Nicholas* to be a very honest Man; but he had no title to that Office more than an other Man: that Mr. *Windham* had not any experience in that Employment, but that it depended so much upon forms, that he would quickly be instructed in it: that he was a very honest Man, for whom he had never done any thing, and had now nothing else to give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in a short time, he would make himself very fit.” All that the Chancellor could prevail with his Majesty, was to suspend the doing it for some time, and that he would hear him again upon the Subject, before he took a final Resolution. For the rest, he promised “to speak upon some particulars with the Queen, and to live with her with all kindness and freedom, that she might be in good humor.” But he heard Her, and all others, very unwillingly, who spoke against Mr. *Windham*’s Parts for being Secretary of State.

One day the Lord *Cottington*, when the Chancellor and some others were present, told the King very gravely (according to his custom, who never smiled when he made others merry) “that he had an humble Suit to him, on the behalf of an old Servant of his Father’s, and whom, he assured him upon his knowledge, his Father loved as well as he did any Man of that condition in *England*; and that he had been for many years one of his Falconers; and he

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“ did really believe him to be one of the best Falcon-
 “ ers in *England* ;” and thereupon enlarged himself
 (as he could do very well, in all the terms of that
 Science) to show how very skilful he was in that Art.
 The King asked him, “ what he would have him do
 “ for him ?” *Cottington* told him, “ it was very true
 “ that his Majesty kept no Falconers, and the poor
 “ Man was grown old, and could not Ride as he had
 “ used to do ; but that he was a very honest Man, and
 “ could Read very well, and had as audible a voice
 “ as any Man need to have ;” and therefore besought
 his Majesty, “ that he would make him his Chaplain ;”
 which speaking with so composed a Countenance,
 and somewhat of earnestness, the King looked upon
 him with a smile to know what he meant ; when He,
 with the same gravity, assured him, “ the Falconer
 “ was in all respects as fit to be his Chaplain, as Colo-
 “ nel *Windham* was to be Secretary of State ;” which
 so surprised the King, who had never spoken to him
 of the matter, all that were present being not able to
 abstain from laughing, that his Majesty was some-
 what out of Countenance : and this being merrily told
 by some of the Standers by, it grew to be a story in all
 Companies, and did really divert the King from the
 purpose, and made the other so much ashamed of pre-
 tending to it, that there was no more discourse of it.

Whilst all Endeavours were used to compose all ill
 humors here, that the King might prosecute his in-
 tended Voyage for *Ireland*, there came very ill news

An account of
 the affairs in
 Ireland after
 the Marquis of

from *Ireland*. As soon as the Marquis of *Ormond* was
 arrived, as hath been said before, the Confederate
 Catholics, who held their Assembly, as they had

always done, at *Kilkenny*, sent Commissioners to him to Congratulate his Arrival, and to enter upon a Treaty of Peace, that they might all return to their Obedience to the King. But the inconstancy of that Nation was such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themselves by their falling from their former Peace; and notwithstanding that themselves had sent to *Paris* to importune the Queen and the Prince to send the Marquis of *Ormond* back to them, with all promises and protestations that they would not insist upon any unreasonable Concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of Religion, and insisted upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have irreconciled all the *English*, who were under the Lord *Inchiquin*, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: By this means so much time was spent, that the Winter passed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanced against the Parliament-Forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of Supplies, whilst the distractions continued in *England* between the Parliament and the Army, the divisions in the Army, and the prosecution of the King; during which the Governors there had work enough to look to themselves; and left *Ireland* to provide for itself: and if that unfortunate People would have made use of the advantages that were offered, that Kingdom might indeed have been entirely Reduced to the King's Obedience.

That the Lord Lieutenant might even compel them to preserve themselves, he went himself to *Kilkenny*,

B O O K where the Council sat, about *Christmas*, after three
XII. months had been spent from his arrival, that no more time might be lost in their Commissioners coming and going, and that the Spring might not be lost as well as the Winter. And at last a Peace was made and concluded; by which, against such a day, the Confederate Catholics obliged themselves, “to bring
 “ into the Field, a body of Horse and Foot, with all
 “ provisions for the Field, which should be at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, and to march as he
 “ should appoint.” The Treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have brought the whole Nation to the same agreement. And the General Assembly, to which they all pretended to submit, and from which all had received their Commissions, as hath been said, sent to *Owen O Neile*, who remained in *Ulster* with his Army, and came not himself to *Kilkenny*, as he had promised to have done, upon pretence of his Indisposition of health. He professed “to submit to whatsoever the General Assembly
 “ should determine:” but when they sent the Articles, to which they had agreed, to be signed by him, he took several exceptions, especially in matters of Religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and, in the end, positively declared “that he
 “ would not submit, or be bound by them:” and at the same time he sent to the Marquis of *Ormond*, “that
 “ he would treat with him apart, and not concern
 “ himself in what the Assembly resolved upon.

The truth is, there was nothing of Religion in this contention; which proceeded from the Animosity between the two Generals, *O Neile* and *Preston*, and

the bitter Faction between the old *Irish* and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the *English* were; and, lastly, from the Ambition of *Owen O Neile*; who expected some Concessions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incensed the other Party, if they had been granted to him: so that the Assembly was well pleased to leave him out, and concluded the Peace without him.

Hereupon the Lord Lieutenant used all possible endeavours that the Army might be formed, and ready to march in the beginning of the Spring. And though there was not an appearance answerable to their promise, yet their Troops seemed so good, and were so numerous, that he thought fit to march towards *Dublin*; and, in the way, to take all Castles and Garrisons, which were possessed by the Parliament: in which they had very good Success. For many of the Parliament-Soldiers having served the King, they took the first opportunity, upon the Marquis of *Ormond*'s approach within any distance, to come to him; and by that means several places Surrendered likewise to him. Colonel *Monk*, who had formerly served the King, and remained, for the space of three or four years, Prisoner in the Tower, had been at last prevailed with by the Lord *Lisle* to serve the Parliament against the *Irish*; pleasing himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the King. He was at this time Governor of *Dundalk*, a Garrison about thirty miles from *Dublin*; which was no sooner summoned (*Tredagh*, and those at a nearer distance, being taken) but he was compelled by his own Soldiers to

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deliver it up; and if the Officer who Commanded the Party which Summoned him, had not been his Friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the King's Service, his Soldiers would have thrown him over the Walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and most of that Garrison betook themselves to the King's Service.

The Marquis
of Ormond
blocks up
Dublin.

Upon all these Encouragements, before the Troops were come up to make the Army as numerous as it might have been, the Marquis was persuaded to block up *Dublin* at a very little distance; having good reason to hope, from the smallness of the Garrison, and a Party of well affected People within the Town, that it would in a short time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he used all the means he could to hasten the *Irish* Troops, some whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raised, to come up to the Army. By all their Letters from *London* (with which, by the way of *Dublin*, and the Ports of *Munster*, there was good Intelligence) they understood, that there were fifteen hundred, or two thousand Men shipped for *Ireland*; and the wind having been for some time against their coming for *Dublin*; there was an apprehension that they might be gone for *Munster*: whereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, who was not confident of all his Garrisons there, very unhappily departed with some Troops of Horse to look after his Province; there being then no cause to apprehend any sally out of *Dublin*, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own Walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the wind coming fair, the Ships expected came into the Port of *Dublin*; and landed a greater number of

The Lord In-
chiquin de-
parts from him
for Munster.

Recruits land
at Dublin from
England.

Soldiers, especially of Horse, than was reported ; and brought the News that *Cromwell* himself was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of Horse and Foot. This Fleet that was already come, had brought Arms, and Clothes, and Money, and Victuals ; which much exalted the Garrison and the City ; which presently turned out of the Town some of those who were suspected to wish well to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and imprisoned others. The second day after the arrival of the Succours, *Jones*, who had been a Lawyer, and was then Governor of *Dublin*, at Noon-day, marched out of the City, with a Body of three thousand Foot, and three or four Troops of Horse, and fell upon that Quarter which was next the Town ; where they found so little resistance that they ventured upon the next ; and in short so disordered the whole Army, one half whereof was on the other side the River, that the Lord Lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some Officers whom he drew together, Charged the Enemy with the loss of many of those who followed him, was at last compelled to draw off the whole Army, which was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return them again to their Posts, till both the Troops which he had were refreshed, and composed, and their Numbers increased by the Levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

Jones sallies out of *Dublin*, and beats the Marquis of *Ormond's* Army.

It may be remembered, that the general Insurrections in the last year, the revolt of the Navy, and the Invasion of the *Scots*, encouraged and drawn in by the Presbyterian Party, had so disturbed and obstructed

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the Counfels both in the Parliament, and in the Army, that nothing had been done in all that year towards the relief of *Ireland*, except the fending over the Lord *Lifle* as Lieutenant, with a Commiffion that was determined at the end of fo many Months, and which had given fo little relief to the *Englifh*, that it only difcovered more their weaknefs, and animofity towards each other, than obftructed the *Irifh* in making their progrefs in all the parts of the Kingdom; and the more confirmed the Lord *Inchiquin* to purfue his Refolutions of ferving the King, and of receiving the Marquis of *Ormond*, how meanly foever attended, and to unite with the *Irifh*; the perfecting of which conjunction, with fo general a fuccefs, brought fo great reproach upon the Parliament, with reference to the lofs of *Ireland*, that the noife thereof was very great: So that *Cromwell* thought it high time, in his own Perfon, to appear upon a Stage of fo great Action. There had been always Men enough to be fpared out of the Army to have been fent upon that Expedition, when the other difficulties were at higheft; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power fhould be fuperior, the Prefbyterian or the Independent. And therefore the one had fet up and defigned *Waller* for that command, and *Cromwell*, againft Him and that Party, had infifted, that it fhould be given to *Lambert*, the fecond Man of the Army, who was known to have as great a deteftation of the Prefbyterian power, as he had of the Prerogative of the Crown: and the Contefts between the two Factions, which of thefe fhould be fent, had fpent a great part

Cromwell
made Lord
Lieutenant of
Ireland.

of the last year, and of their Winter - Counsels. But now, when all the Domestic differences were composed by their successes in the field, and the bloody prosecution of their civil Counsels, so that there could be little done to the disturbance of the Peace of *England*, and when *Waller's* Friends were so suppressed, that he was no more thought of, *Cromwell* began to think that the committing the whole Government of *Ireland*, with such an Army as was necessary to be sent thither, was too great a Trust even for his beloved *Lambert* himself, and was to lessen his own power and authority, both in the Army which was Commanded by *Fairfax*, and in the other, that, being in *Ireland*, would, upon any occasion, have great influence upon the Affairs of *England*. And therefore, whilst there appeared no other obstructions in the relief of *Ireland* (which was every day loudly called for) than the determining who should take that Charge, some of his Friends, who were always ready upon such occasions, on a sudden proposed *Cromwell* Himself the Lieutenant-General, to conduct that Expedition.

Cromwell himself was always absent when such Overtures were to be made; and whoever had proposed *Lambert*, had proposed it as a thing most agreeable to *Cromwell's* desire; and therefore, when they heard *Cromwell* Himself proposed for the service, and by those who they were sure intended him no affront, they immediately acquiesced in the Proposition, and looked upon the change as a good expedient: on the other side, the Presbyterian party was no less affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the service, and that he never did intend to go thither in

B O O K Person ; or that if he did, his absence from *England*
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Cromwell, how little surpris'd soever with this designation, appeared the next day in the House full of confusion and irresolution; which the natural temper, and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid, when he least desired it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life. And after much hesitation, and many expressions of
“ his own unworthiness, and disability to support so
“ great a Charge, and of the entire resignation of him-
“ self to Their commands, and absolute dependance
“ upon God's providence and blessing, from whom
“ he had received many Instances of his Favor,” he submitted to their good will and pleasure; and desired them “ that no more time might be lost in the pre-
“ parations which were to be made for so great a
“ Work : for he did confess that Kingdom to be re-
“ duced to so great straits, that he was willing to
“ engage his own Person in this expedition, for the
“ difficulties which appeared in it; and more out of
“ hope, with the hazard of his life, to give some ob-
“ struction to the successes which the Rebels were at

“ present exalted with ” (for so he called the Marquis of *Ormond*, and all who joined with him) “ that so the Common-Wealth might retain still some footing in that Kingdom, till they might be able to send fresh Supplies, than out of any expectation, that, with the strength he carried, he should be able, in any signal degree, to prevail over them.”

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It was an incredible expedition that he used from this minute after his assuming that Charge, in the raising of Money, providing of Shipping, and drawing of Forces together, for this enterprize. Before he could be ready himself to march, he sent three thousand Foot and Horse to *Milford-Haven*, to be Transported, as soon as they arrived there, to *Dublin*; all things being ready there for their Transportation; which Troops, by the contrary Winds, were constrained to remain there for many days. And that caused the report in *Ireland*, by the intelligence from *London*, that *Cromwell* intended to make a descent in *Munster*; which unhappily divided the Lord *Inchiquin*, and a good Body of his Men from the Lord Lieutenant, as hath been said, when he marched towards *Dublin*. Nor did the Marquis of *Ormond* in truth at that time intend to have marched thither with that expedition, until his Army should be grown more numerous, and more accustomed to discipline, but the wonderful successes of those Troops, which were sent before, in the taking of *Trim*, *Dundalk*, and all the out-Garrisons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within *Dnblin*, made him unwilling to lose any more time, since he was sure that the crossness of the Wind only hindered the arrival of those Supplies, which were designed

He provides
forces for his
going thither.

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thither out of *England*: and the arrival of those Supplies, the very day before his coming before *Dublin*, enabled the Governor thereof to make that Sally which is mentioned before; and had that Success which is mentioned.

The Marquis of *Ormond*, at that time, drew off his whole Army from *Dublin* to *Tredagh*, where he meant to remaint ill he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his farther design. And a full account of all these particulars met *Cromwell* at his arrival at *Milford-Haven*, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of *Dublin*, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispersed, upon the news of the great success his Party had that he had sent before, he deferred not to Embark his whole Army, and, with a very prosperous Wind, arrived at *Dublin* within two or three days after the Marquis of *Ormond* had retired from thence; where he was received with wonderful Acclamation; which did not retard him from pursuing his Active resolutions, to improve those advantages had already befallen him. And the Marquis of *Ormond* was no sooner advertised of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his Army to a greater distance, till those Parties which were marching towards him from the several Quarters of the Kingdom, might come up to him; and in the mean while to put *Tredagh* into so good a posture, as might entertain the Enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was looked upon, besides the strength of the Situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the
flower

Cromwell
arrives at
Dublin.

flower of his Army, both of Soldiers and Officers, most of them *English*, to the number of three thousand Foot, and two or three good Troops of Horse, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to Sir *Arthur Aston*, who hath been often mentioned before, and was an Officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of *Cromwell*, for at least a Month's time. And the Marquis of *Ormond* made less doubt, in much less time, to relieve and succour it with his Army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a Rendezvous for his new Levies.

This news coming to St. *Germain's*, broke all their Measures, at least as to the Expedition: the resolution continued for *Ireland*; but it was thought fit that they should expect another account from thence, before the King begun his Journey; nor did it seem counsellable that his Majesty should venture at Sea whilst the Parliament-Fleet commanded the Ocean, and were then about the Coast of *Ireland*; but that he should expect the Autumn, when the Season of the year would call home, or disperse the Ships. But where to stay so long was the Question; for it was now the Month of *August*, and as the King had received no kind of civility from *France*, since his last coming, so it was notorious enough that his absence was impatiently desired by that Court; and the Queen, who found herself disappointed of that Dominion which she had expected, resolved to merit from the Cardinal by freeing him from a Guest that was so unwelcome to them, though he had not been

This News
delays the
King's Voyage
into Ireland.

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in any degree chargeable to them; and so was not at all solicitous for his longer stay. So his Majesty considered how he should make his departure; and, upon looking round, he resolved, that he would make his Journey through *Normandy*, and Embark himself for his Island of *Jersey*; which still continued under his obedience, and under the Government of Sir *George Carteret*; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the Lieutenant of the Lord *Jermyn*; who, in those straits the King was in, and the great plenty he himself enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there would lessen some of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's Support, whilst he should stay there, necessary to sell some of the King's Demesnes in that Island, the yearly rent whereof used to be received by that Lord towards the discharge of the Garrisons there, he insisted, with all possible importunity, "that some of the Money, which should be raised upon that Sale, should be paid to Him, because his receipt, for the time to come, would not remain so great as it had been formerly:" and though this demand appeared so unjust, and unreasonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him such a Note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good Sum of Money, after the return of his Majesty into *England*, upon that consideration. This Resolution being taken for *Jersey*, the King sent to the Prince of *Orange*, "that he would cause two Ships of War to ride in the road before *St. Maloes*" (which they might do without notice)

“ and that he might have a Warrant remain in his hands, by which the Ships might attend his Majesty, when he should require them;” which they might do in very few hours; and in these he meant to Transport himself, as soon as it should be seasonable, into *Ireland*. These Ships did wait his pleasure there accordingly.

France had too good an excuse at this time for not giving the King any assistance in Money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own Affairs were in. Though the Sedition which had been raised in *Paris* the last Winter, was at present so much appeased by the Courage, and Conduct of the Prince of *Condé* (who brought the Army, which he Commanded in *Flanders*, with so great Expedition before *Paris*, that the City yielded to reason) so that his most Christian Majesty, the Queen his Mother, and the whole Court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The Town continued still in ill humor; more of the great Men adhered to them than had done before; the Animosities against the Cardinal increased, and, which made those Animosities the more terrible, the Prince of *Condé*, who surely had merited very much, either unsatisfied, or not to be satisfied, broke his Friendship with the Cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: So that the Court was far from being in that Tranquillity, as to concern itself much for the King our Master, if it had been otherwise well inclined to it.

All things standing thus, about the middle of *September*, the King left *St. Germain's*, and begun his

The Affairs
of France
whilst the
King was at
Paris.

The King
leaves *St.*
Germain's;

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and goes
towards
Jersey.

Journey towards *Jersey*; and the Queen, the next day, removed from thence to *Paris* to the *Louvre*. The two Ambassadors for *Spain* waited upon her Majesty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themselves for their Journey to *Spain*, where they longed to be, and whither they had sent for a Pass to meet them at St. *Sebastian's*, and that they might have a House provided for them at *Madrid*, against the time they should come thither; both which they recommended to an *English* Gentleman, who lived there, to solicit, and advertise them in their Journey of the temper of that Court.

They thought it convenient, since they were to desire a Pass to go from *Paris* into *Spain*, that they should wait upon the Queen-Mother of *France*, and the Cardinal; and likewise upon the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condé*; who were then in a Cabal against the Court. The Prince of *Condé* spoke so publicly, and so warmly against the Cardinal, that most People thought the Cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his Person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his House, and admitted few to come to him, and had a strong Guard in every Room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

In this so general disorder, the Ambassadors declined any formal Audiences; for which their Equipage was not suitable: so the Lord *Cottington* went privately to the Queen-Regent, who received him graciously, and desired him "to recommend her very kindly to her Brother the King of *Spain*, without enlarging upon any thing else." From Her he went

to the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he found in more disorder; and when the Ambassador told him, “he came to know whether he had any Service to command him into *Spain*,” the Duke, who scarce stood still whilst he was speaking, answered aloud “that he had nothing to do with *Spain*,” and so went hastily into an other Room; and the Lord *Cottington* then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the Prince of *Condé*, and to the Cardinal. But when they sent to the Prince, he wisely, but with great Civility, sent them word, “that they could not be ignorant of the disorder that Court was in, and of the jealousies which were of him;” and therefore desired them “to excuse him, that he did not see them.”

The Cardinal appointed them a time; and accordingly they met, and conferred together about half an hour, the Lord *Cottington* speaking *Spanish*, and the Cardinal and He conferring wholly in that Language. The Cardinal acknowledged the apprehension he was in, in his looks; and took occasion in his discourse to mention “the unjust displeasure, which Monsieur *le Prince* had conceived against him.” He seemed earnestly to desire a Peace between the two Crowns; and said, “that he would give a pound of his Blood to obtain it;” and desired the Ambassadors “to tell *Don Lewis de Haro* from him, that he would with all his heart meet him upon the Frontiers; and that he was confident, if they two were together but three hours, they should compose all differences:” which Message he afterwards disavowed, when *Don Lewis* accepted the motion, and was

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The Lord
Cottington
and the Chan-
cellor begin
their journey
for Spain, and
arrive at
Bordeaux.

willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the Stairs in disorder enough, his Guards being very circumspect, and suffering no stranger to approach any of the Rooms.

They begun their Journey from *Paris* upon *Michaelmas*-day, and continued it, without resting one day, till they came to *Bordeaux*; which was then in Rebellion against the King. The City and the Parliament had not only sent several complaints, and bitter invectives against the Duke of *Espernon*, their Governor, for his Acts of Tyranny in his Government, but had presumed, in order to make his Person the more ungracious, to asperse his life and manners with those reproaches which they believed would most reflect upon the Court. And the truth is, their greatest Quarrel against him was, that he was a fast Friend to the Cardinal, and would not be divided from his Interest. They had driven the Duke out of the Town, and did not only desire the King "that he might no more be their Governor; but that his Majesty would give the Government to the Prince of *Condé*;" which made their complaints the less considered as just. And it was then one of the most avowed exceptions that Prince had against the Cardinal, that he had not that Government upon the Petition of *Bordeaux*, since he offered to resign his of *Burgundy*, which was held to be of as much Value, to accommodate and repair the Duke of *Espernon*. At *Blay*, the Ambassadors were visited by the Marshal of *Plessy Praslin*, who had been sent by the Court to treat with the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, but could bring them to no reason, they positively insisting

upon the remove of their old Governor, and conferring the Command upon the Prince. When they came to *Bordeaux* they found the *Château-Trompette*, which still held for the King, shooting at the Town, the Town having invested it very close, that no Succour could be put into them, the Duke of *Espéron* being at his House at *Cadillac*, from whence his Horse every day infested the Citizens when they stirred out of the Town. Here the Ambassadors were compelled to stay one whole day, the disorders upon the River, and in the Town, not suffering their Coaches and Baggage to follow them so soon as they should have done. They were here visited by some Counsellors, and Presidents of the Parliament; who professed duty to their King, but irreconcilable hatred to the Duke of *Espéron*; against whom they had published several Remonstrances in Print, and dedicated them to the Prince of *Condé*. After a day's rest there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continued their Journey to *Bayonne*; and arrived, upon the twentieth day from their leaving *Paris*, at the *Taio*; where they took Boat, and in an hour or two arrived at *Girona*. The next day they went by the River to *Pasage*, and when they came out of their Boats, which were rowed by Women, according to their Privilege there, they found Mules, sent from *St. Sebastian's* to carry them thither. About half a Mile from the Town they were met by the Governor of *Guipuscoa*, *Don Antonio de Cardinas*, an old Soldier, and a Knight of the Order, the *Corregidor* and all the Magistrates of *St. Sebastian's*, and the *English* Merchants which Inhabited there; and were Conducted by the Governor

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to one of the best Houses in the Town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the Governor, and the rest of the Magistrates, took their leave of them.

They had not been half an hour in their Lodging, conferring with the *English* Merchants, about conveniencies to prosecute their Journey, when the *Corregidor* came to them, and desired to speak with them in private, and after some compliment and apology, he showed them a Letter, which he had received from the Secretary of State; the contents whereof were, “that when the Ambassadors of the Prince of *Wales* should arrive there, they should be received with all respect; but that he should find some means to persuade them to stay and remain there, till he should give the King notice of it, and receive his farther pleasure.” And at the same time an *English* Merchant of the Town, who had told them before, that he had Letters from *Madrid* for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a Pacquet from Sir *Benjamin Wright*; who was intrusted by them to solicit at *Madrid* for their Pass, and for a House to be prepared for them. In this Letter their Pass was inclosed, under the same Style, as Ambassadors from the Prince of *Wales*; which he had observed upon the place, and desired to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any Order for the providing a House for them; but was told, “that it should be done time enough.” This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they seemed not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to stay there a Month, to refresh

themselves after their long Journey, and in expectation of other Letters from the King their Master. The *Corregidor* offered to send away an Express the same night, which they accepted of; and writ to *Don Lewis de Haro*, "that the King their Master had sent them
" his Ambassadors to his Catholic Majesty, upon
" Affairs of the highest Importance: that they were
" come so far on their way, but had, to their great
" wonder, met there with a signification of that
" King's pleasure, that they should stay and remain
" there, till they should receive his Majesty's farther
" Orders; which troubled them not so much, as to
" find themselves stiled the Ambassadors of the
" Prince of *Wales*, which they thought very strange,
" after his Catholic Majesty had sent an Ambassa-
" dor to the King their Master before they left him:
" they desired therefore to know, whether their Per-
" sons were unacceptable to his Catholic Majesty,
" and if that were the Case, they would immediately
" return to their Master; otherwise, if his Majesty
" were content to receive them, they desired they
" might be treated in that manner as was due to the
" Honor and Dignity of the King their Master. And
" they writ to Sir *Benjamin Wright*, to attend *Don*
" *Lewis*, and if he found that they were expected at
" *Madrid*, and that they reformed the Errors they
" had committed, he should then use those impor-
" tunities, which were necessary for the providing a
" House for them against they should come."

Though the Court was then full of business, being in daily expectation of their new Queen; who was landed, and at that time within few days Journey of

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Their Passes
are sent to
them.

Madrid; yet the very next day after the Letter was delivered to *Don Lewis de Haro*, he returned an Answer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed, to the negligence, or ignorance of the Secretary; and sent them new Passes in the proper Style; and assured them, “that they should find a very good welcome from his Majesty.” And Sir *Benjamin Wright* sent them word, “that he had received the Warrant for the providing the House; and the Officer, to whom it was directed, had called upon him to view two or three Houses; and that *Don Lewis* told him, that as soon as he had found a House that pleased him, Orders should be given to the King’s Officers of the Wardrobe to furnish it; and then when the Ambassadors came, there should be one of the King’s Coaches to attend them whilst they staid.” Hereupon they made haste in their Journey, with some satisfaction and confidence that they should find a Court not so hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with so barefaced and formed an Affront, and then so easily recede from it with weak Apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wished that they had not come; and imagined that this might put them to return again, and then were ashamed of their own Expedient, and being pressed, chose rather to decline than avow it: So unnatural a thing is it for that Court to stoop to any ugly Action, without doing it so ungraciously, as to confess it in their own Countenance, and quickly receding from it.

It was about the middle of *November* when they left *St. Sebastian’s*, the Weather yet continuing fair;

and a Gentleman of Quality of the Country was appointed to accompany them out of the jurisdiction of *Guipuscoa*, which was to the City of *Victoria*; and from thence they entered into *Castile*. When they came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, they sent to Sir *Benjamin Wright* to know what House was provided for them: he came to them, and told them, "all things were in the same state they were when he writ to them to *St. Sebastian's*; that though *Don Lewis* gave him very good words, and seemed much troubled and angry with the Officers that the House was not ready, and the Officers excused themselves upon the jollities the Town was in during the *Fiestas*, which were held every day for the Queen's arrival, that no body could attend any particular affair, yet it was evident there was not that care taken from the Court that there ought to have been, and that *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* from *England* had done the Ambassadors all the ill offices possible, as if their good reception in *Spain* would incense the Parliament, and make them more propitious to *France*, which valued itself upon having driven all the Royal Family from thence."

Upon this new Mortification, they writ again from thence to *Don Lewis*, to desire "that they might not be put to stay there for want of a House, and so be exposed to contempt." Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always Answered their Letters with great punctuality, and with courtesy enough, as if all things should be ready by the next day. The *English* Merchants, who resided

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They go into
Madrid in-
cognito;
and lodge at
first at Sir
Benjamin
Wright's
House.

at *Madrid*, came every day to visit them, but still brought them word, that there was no appearance of any provision made to receive them; so that, after a week's stay in that little Town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation, which Sir *Benjamin Wright* made them, of reposing themselves *incognito* in his House; which would only receive their Persons with a *Valet de Chambre* for each; and the rest of their family was quartered in the next adjacent Houses for the reception of Strangers; so they went privately in the Evening into *Madrid* in Sir *Benjamin Wright's* Coach, and came to his House: and if, by His generosity, they had not been thus accommodated, they must have been exposed to reproch and infamy, by the very little respect they received from the Court. This Sir *Benjamin Wright* was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Essex*; and, being a younger Brother, had been bred a Merchant in *Madrid*; where he had great business, and great reputation; and, having married a Wife of the Family of *Toledo*, was become a perfect *Spaniard*, not only in the Language, but in the generous part of their Nature and Customs.

The Court well enough knew of their Arrival, but took no notice of it. The Lord *Cottington* therefore sent to *Don Lewis*, to desire that he might have a private Audience of him *Incognito*; which he presently consented to, and appointed, the next Morning, to meet in the King's Garden; which was at such a distance from the Court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: *Don Lewis* was a Man of little ceremony, and used no flourishes in his

discourses, which made most Men believe that he said all things from his heart; and he seemed to speak so cordially, that the Lord *Cottington*, who was not easy to be imposed upon, did think that they should have a House very speedily, and that he had a good inclination to favor them in what they came about. He spoke, with more commotion than was natural to him, in the business of the Murder of the King; excused all the omissions towards the Ambassadors; which should be repaired out of hand, after the few days, which yet remained to be spent in *Fiestas* for the Queen; during which time, he said, no Officers would obey any Orders that diverted them from the sight of the Triumphs; and wished that the Ambassadors would see the Masquerade that Afternoon, and the *Toros* the Day following.

The Lord *Cottington* returned home very well satisfied, and had not been half an hour in the House, when a Gentleman came from *Don Lewis* to invite the Ambassadors to see those Exercises, which are mentioned before; and sent them word that there should be places provided for them. The Chancellor went that Afternoon to the place assigned where he saw the Masquerade, and the running of the Course, and, afterwards, the *Toros*.

At the running of the Course, the King and *Don Lewis* run several Courses, in all which *Don Lewis* was too good a Courtier to win any prize, though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the People was very great, and the Ladies in all the Windows made a very rich show, otherwise the show itself had nothing wonderful. Here there happened to

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be some sudden sharp words between the *Admirante* of *Castile*, a haughty young Man, and the Marquis *de Liche*, the eldest Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*; the which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed the Squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their Chambers.

At the Entertainment of the *Toros* there was another accident, the mention whereof is not unfit to show the discipline, and severity of that Nation in the observation of order. It was remembered, that at the Masquerade, the *Admirante* and the Marquis of *Liche* were sent to their Chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examined, they were both commanded to leave the Town, and retire each to a House of his own, that was within three or four Leagues of the Town. The Marquis of *Liche* was known to have gone the next day, and no body doubted the same of the *Admirante*, those orders being never disputed or disobeyed. The King as he was going to the *Toros*, either himself discerned at another Balcony, or some body else advertised him of it, that the Duchess, who was Wife to the *Admirante*, was there; and said, “he
“ knew that Lady was a Woman of more Honor than
“ to come out of her House, and be present at the
“ *Fiestas*, whilst her Husband was under restraint, and
“ in his Majesty’s displeasure;” and therefore concluded that her Husband was likewise there; and thereupon sent an *Alguazil* to that Room, with command to examine carefully with his Eye, whether the *Admirante* was there; for there appeared none but Women. The *Admirante* being a young rash Man, much in the King’s favor, and a Gentleman of his

Bed-Chamber, thought he might undiscerned see the Triumph of that day; and therefore caused himself to be dressed in the habit of a Lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his Wife to go with him; who exceedingly resisted his Commands, well knowing to what reproach she exposed her own honor, though she had no fear of his being discovered. The *Alguazil* brought the King word, that he was very sure that the *Admirante* was there, in the habit of a Woman, and sat next his Wife among many other Ladies. Whereupon the King sent the Officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to the Officer's own House. And as soon as the King returned to the Palace, there was an Order that the *Alguazil* should the next Morning carry the *Admirante* to *Valladolid*, four days Journey from *Madrid*, to a House of his own there; where he was confined not to go out of the limits of that City; and under this restraint remained for the space of full three years: So penal a thing it is amongst that People, for any Man, of how great Quality soever (there was not in *Spain* a Man of greater than the *Admirante* of *Castile*) to disobey, or elude the judgment of the King.

It may be thought impertinent to the work in hand, to make a digression upon this Embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occurred in it, of the formality and constitution of that Court, of the nature and humor of that People, which may seem foreign to the affairs of *England*. But since the King, after his leaving *Paris*, remained in *Jersey* for many Months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to quit that retire-

The King remains several months in *Jersey*.

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ment, in all which time there was no Action, or Counfel to be mentioned, and this being the first, and the only Embassy, in which his Majesty's Person was represented, until his blessed return into *England* (for though some other Persons were afterwards sent to other Princes, with Commissions to perform that function, if they found Encouragement so to do, yet none assumed that Character, nor were treated as such in any Court in Christendom, *Spain* only excepted) it may therefore be reasonably thought not improper in this History, to give such a relation of this Negotiation, that it may appear what sense so great a Court as that of *Spain* had of those Revolutions in *England*, and of the deplorable condition to which this young innocent Prince was reduced, when it was fully pressed to them in the most efficacious terms possible; and every circumstance of their reception, and treatment, may serve to illustrate those particulars; and therefore we shall proceed farther in the relation of them.

An account of
the Ambassadors
Audience.

Before their Audience, *Don Lewis de Haro* sent them word of the imprisonment of the Prince of *Condé*, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, and that Marshal *Turin* had made his Escape into *Flanders*; the news whereof gave the *Spanish* Court much trouble; for they had promised themselves a better Harvest from that Seed, which they had carefully and industriously Sown, and that thereby the Cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would have been totally suppressed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a Peace, which was not less desired in *France* than in *Spain*; or that those Princes, and all their

their Dependents, would have appeared in Arms in that Kingdom: by which the *Spaniards* should be able to recover much of what they had lost in *Flanders*; the hopes of either of which appeared now blasted by this unexpected revival of the Cardinal's power.

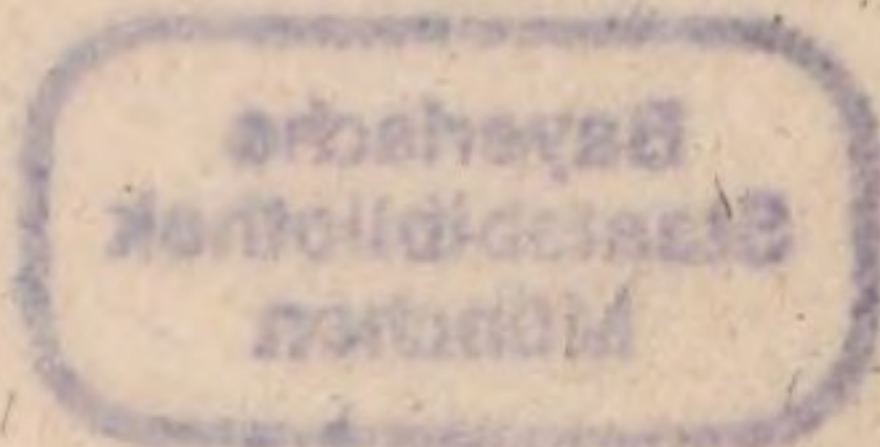
Upon the day assigned for the Audience, it being resolved that when they had ended with the King, they should likewise have one of the Queen, *Don Lewis de Haro* sent Horses to their Lodging, for the accommodation of the Ambassadors, and their Servants: it being the fashion of that Court, that the Ambassadors ride to their first Audience. And so they rode, being attended by all their own Servants, and all the *English* Merchants who lived in the Town, together with many *Irish* Officers who were in the Service of his Catholic Majesty, all on Horse-back; so that their Cavalcade appeared very fair, all the Coaches of other Ambassadors likewise following them. In this manner they came to the Court about ten of the Clock in the Morning, being conducted by an Officer, who had been sent to their Lodging, and rode with them to the Court.

Through several Rooms, where there was only one Officer, who attended to open and shut the doors, they came to the Room next that where his Majesty was; where, after a little stay, whilst their Conductor went in and out, they found the King standing upright, with his back against the Wall, and the Grantees at a distance, in the same posture, against the Wall. When they had made their several respects, and came to the King, he lightly moved his hat, and bid them cover: the Lord *Cottington* spoke only

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general things, “ of the confidence the King had in his
“ Majesty’s kindness, and that He believed his con-
“ dition such, as that all the Kings of the World were
“ concerned to vindicate the wrong he sustained :
“ that this was the first Embassy he had sent, relying
“ more upon the honor of his Majesty’s nature and
“ generosity, than upon any other Prince;” with
discourses of the same nature: then they presented
their Credentials.

The King expressed a very tender Sense of our
King’s condition, and acknowledged “ that it con-
“ cerned all Kings to join together for the punish-
“ ment of such an impious Rebellion and Parricide;
“ and if his own Affairs would permit it, he would be
“ the first that would undertake it; but that they
“ could not but know how full his hands were ; and
“ whilst he had so powerful an Adversary to contend
“ with, he could hardly defend himself; but that
“ when there should be a Peace with *France*” (which
he desired) “ the King,” his *Sobrino* (for so he still
called the King, his Nephew) “ should find all he
“ could expect from him; in the mean time he would
“ be ready to do all that was in his power towards
“ his assistance and relief.” After the formal part was
over, the King asked many Questions, most with re-
ference to his Sister, the Queen of *France*; and dis-
coursed very intelligently of every thing; so that his
defects proceeded only from the laziness of his mind,
not from any want of understanding; and he seemed
then, when he was about eight-and-forty years of
Age, to have great vigor of Body, having a clear
ruddy Complexion; yet he had been accustomed to



Fevers from his Debauches with Women, by which he was much wasted. B O O K
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From the King they were conducted to the Queen; who used very few words, and spoke so low that she could scarce be heard; she stood, in the same manner the King did, against a Wall, and her Ladies on both sides as the Grandees did; the *Infanta* at a little distance from her, to whom likewise they made a Compliment from their Master. The Queen was then about eighteen years of Age, not tall, round-faced, and inclined to be fat. The *Infanta* was much lower, as she ought to be by her Age, but of a very lovely complexion, without any help of Art, which every one else in the Room, even the Queen herself, was beholding to: and she was then the fullest of Spirit and Wit of any Lady in *Spain*, which she had not improved afterwards, when she had more years upon her. Their Audience ended, they returned; and at last they had a House provided for them in the *Calle de Alcala*, belonging to the Marquis of *Villa Magna*, to whom the King paid four hundred pounds Sterling by the year. They have a
House assigned
them.

The Council of State at this time consisted of *Don Lewis de Haro*, the Duke de *Medina de los Torres*, Duke de *Mounterey*, Marquis of *Castel Roderigo*, Marquis de *Val-Periso*, the Conde of *Castrillo*, and *Don Francisco de Melo*; there were no more residing in that Court then; the Duke de *Medina Celi* residing constantly at his Government of *St. Lucar*, the Marquis of *Leganez* being General against *Portugal*, and so remaining at *Badajoz*, and coming seldom to *Madrid*, and the Duke of *Arcos* stood confined to his

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The Character of Don Lewis de Haro.

House, since the defection of *Naples*, when it was under his Government; and the *Conde de Pignoranda* was not yet come out of *Flanders*.

Don *Lewis* was as absolute a Favorite in the Eyes of his Master, had as entire a disposal of all his Affections and Faculties, as any Favorite of that Age: nor was any thing transacted at home, or abroad, but by His direction and determination: and yet of all the Favorites of that, or any other time, no Man ever did so little alone, or seemed less to enjoy the delight and empire of a Favorite. In the most ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little Deliberation, and in the nature of them required Expedition, he would give no Order without formal Consultation with the rest of the Council; which hindered despatch, and made his Parts the more suspected. He was Son of the Marquis of *Carpio*, who had Married the Sister of *Olivarez*, and had been put about the Person of the King, being about the same Age with his Majesty, and had so grown up in his Affection, and was not thought to have been displeased at the disgrace of his Uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not succeed in the place of Favorite in many years, nor seemed to be concerned in any business till after the death of the then Queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the King's Affection, who had a great kindness for his Person, than by the Ambition of his own Nature, or any delight in business. His Education had not fitted him for it, and his natural Parts were not sharp, yet his Industry was great, and the more commendable, because his Nature had some

repugnancy to it, and his Experience had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke impertinently, but discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all Subjects. He was of a Melancholic complexion; which, it may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself to himself, which was his defect. He seemed to be a very honest, and well natured Man, and did very rarely manifest his power in Acts of oppression, or hard-heartedness; which made him grateful to most particular Men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His Port and Grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the *French* Cardinals; the last of which was Favorite during his Administration. Nor did he affect Wealth as They did, not leaving a Fortune behind him much improved by his own Industry: yet it cannot be denied, that the Affairs of *Spain* declined more, in the time they were under His Government, than at any time before; and that less was done with the consumption of so much Money, than might have been expected. But it must be likewise considered, that he entered upon that Administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of *Portugal*, and the defection in *Catalonia*, which made such a rent in that Crown, as would have required more than an ordinary Statesman to have repaired, and make it flourish as before.

The Ambassadors had not been long at *Madrid*, when the *Conde* of *Pignoranda* returned thither from his Negotiation in the Treaty of *Munster*. He had been declared to be of the Council of State, after he had made that Peace with *Holland*, and was admitted to it as soon as he returned. He was *Conde* in the

Of the *Conde*
de of *Pigna-*
noranda.

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right of his Wife only; and before, being of a good Family, *Don Diego de Brachamonte*, and bred in the study of the Law, was looked upon as a good Man of business, and so employed in matters of greatest Trust. He was indeed a Man of great Parts, and understood the Affairs of the World better than most in that Court. He was Proud to the height of his Nation, and retained too much of the Pedantry which he had brought with him from *Salamanca*. As soon as he returned, according to the method of that Court upon great and successful Employments, the Presidentship *de los Ordines*, an Office of great Reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferred upon him. The Ambassadors found no benefit by his Arrival, coming from *Brussels*, which was thoroughly infected by *Don Alonzo*. The truth is, *Don Alonzo*, who had no Affection for the King, upon the memory of some disobligations when he first came over into *England*, and liked well his Employment, and Residence there, used all the endeavours imaginable to have the King's Condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and that therefore all Civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Common-wealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that *Spain* thought only how to make a firm Friendship there, and to forget that there ever Had been a King of *England*, in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore when the Ambassadors, after all Ceremonies were over, had a private Audience of the King, and desired, " that he would appoint Commissioners, with whom

The Ambaf.
sadors pri-
vate Audience
and Demands.

“ they might treat about the renewing the Alliance
 “ between the two Crowns, which had been pro-
 “ vided for by the last Treaty to be renewed within
 “ so many Months after the death of either King, and
 “ with whom they might likewise confer upon such
 “ relief in Arms, and Money, as his Catholic Ma-
 “ jesty would think proper to send to their Master
 “ into *Ireland*” (whither one of the Ambassadors
 desired to hasten his Journey as soon as might be; and
 in that Memorial, which they then delivered to his
 Catholic Majesty, they had desired likewise “ that
 “ he would write to *Owen O Neile* to dispose him to
 “ submit to the King)” they received shortly after
 an Answer, sent to them by *Don Francisco de Melo*,
 who told them, “ that the King had sent him to them,
 “ to confer with them upon the substance of their
 “ last Memorial. He said, the King did not think it
 “ necessary to appoint any Committee to renew the
 “ last Treaty of Peace; which was still in force, and
 “ might well be observed between the two Nations;
 “ and that the renewing might be deferred till the
 “ times should mend;” implying very little less than
 that when the King should be in *England*, it would
 be a fit time to renew the Alliance. He said, “ he
 “ was ready to receive any Propositions from them,
 “ wherein they might more particularly set down
 “ their desires, if they were ready to depart;” and
 for writing to *Owen O Neile* (whom he called *Don*
Eugenio) “ he had so misbehaved himself towards
 “ his Catholic Majesty, by leaving his Service in
 “ *Flanders*, and transporting himself into *Ireland* with-
 “ out his Licence, that his Majesty could not in

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 XII.
 The Answer
 they receive.

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“ Honor write to him; but that he would take such
“ care, that he should know it would be agreeable
“ to his Majesty’s good liking, that he betook him-
“ self to the Service of the King of Great *Britain*
“ without reserve; which he did believe would dis-
“ pose him to it:” which Method the Ambassadors
conceived was proposed, because they should believe
that the *Spaniard* had no hand in sending him into
that Kingdom, or in fomenting the Rebellion there;
whereas at the same time *Don Diego de la Torre* was
with the *Irish* as Resident or Envoy from *Spain*.

This Answer was evidence enough to them, how
little they were to expect from any avowed Friend-
ship of that Crown, though they still thought they
might be able to obtain some little favor in private,
as Arms, and Ammunition, and a small supply of
Money for the King’s Subsistence, that could hardly
be taken notice of. And therefore the Chancellor
of the Exchequer, who was designed by the King to
attend him in *Ireland*, expected only to hear that he
was arrived there, till when he could not present his
Memorial so particularly as was demanded. nor pre-
pare himself for his Voyage thither: and so they
rested for some time, without giving the Court any
farther trouble by Audiences.

Now whilst they were in this impatient Expecta-
tion to hear from the King their Master, who yet
remained at *Jersey*, by which they might take their
own resolutions, Prince *Rupert* came upon the coast
of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; which
he had brought from *Ireland*; and had sent a Letter
on Shore to be sent to the Chancellor of the Exche-

Prince *Ru-*
pert comes
upon the coast
of *Spain*.

quer; which the Officer upon the place, sent presently to *Don Lewis de Haro*; who, in the same moment, sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The Prince writ him word, “that he had brought away
 “all the Fleet from *Ireland*, and that he had received
 “an Assurance from *Portugal*, that he should be
 “very welcome thither; upon which he was resolved, after he had attended some days to meet with
 “any *English* Ships that might be prize, to go for
 “*Lisbon*; and desired him to procure Orders from
 “the Court, that he might find a good reception in
 “all the Ports of *Spain*, if his occasions brought him
 “thither.” The Ambassadors sent immediately for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; who received them with open Arms, and another kind of Countenance than he had ever done before. A Fleet of the King of *England*, under the Command of a Prince of the Blood, upon the coast of *Spain*, at a Season of the year when they expected the return of their Galeons from the Indies, made a great consternation amongst the People, and the Court received the News of it with disorder enough. All that the Ambassadors asked, was granted without hesitation; and Letters were despatched away that very Night (Copies whereof were sent to the Ambassadors) by several Expresses, to all the Governors of the Ports, and other Officers, for the good reception of Prince *Rupert*, or any Ships under his Command, if they came into any of the Ports; and for the furnishing them with any Provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly Clauses as could have been inserted if the King had been in possession of his whole Empire:

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His Letter to
the Chancellor
of the
Exchequer.

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so great an influence a little appearance of Power had upon their Spirits; and the Ambassadors found they lived in another kind of Air than they had done, and received every day Visits and Caresses from the Court, and from those in Authority.

The Prince
with the gross
of his Fleet
goes into the
River of
Lisbon.

But the Government of these benign Stars was very short: Within few days after, they received News,
“ that the Prince, with the gross of his Fleet, was
“ gone into the River of *Lisbon*, and that a Squadron
“ of four or five Ships, under the Command of Cap-
“ tain *Allen*, being severed from the Prince by a Storm,
“ was driven upon the Rocks at *Cartagena*; where
“ the People of the Country had treated them very
“ rudely, and seized both upon the Ships, and Persons
“ of the Men, and the Storm continuing had wreck-
“ ed two or three of their Vessels in the Road, though
“ the Guns and all things in the Ships were saved.”

When the Ambassadors demanded Justice, “ and that
“ restitution might be made of all those Goods, and
“ Ordnance, and rigging of the Ships, which not only
“ the People, but the Governors, and Officers them-
“ selves had seized upon,” they were received with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the same Expedition in granting what they could not deny. Orders were at last given for the setting all the Men at liberty, and redelivery of the Goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their Vessels, and Transport their Men.

The chief
Commander
of the Parlia-
ment's Fleet
comes on the
Spanish Coast.

But as these Orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and a stronger Fleet sent out by the Parliament of *England* then appeared upon the Coast, which came into the Road of St. *Andero's*;

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His Letter to
the King of
Spain.

from whence the Commander in chief writ a very insolent Letter in *English* to the King of *Spain*; wherein he required, "that none of those Ships under the Command of Prince *Rupert*. which had revolted from the Parliament, and were in Rebellion against it, might be received into any of the Ports of *Spain*, and that those Ships which were in the Ports of *Cartagena*, might be delivered to him, and the Ordnance and tackling of the others which were wrecked, might be carefully kept, and be delivered to such Person as should be authorized to receive the same by the Commonwealth of *England*; to whom they belonged:" and concluded, "that as the Commonwealth of *England* was willing to live in Amity, and good Intelligence with his Catholic Majesty, so they knew very well how to do themselves right for any injury, or discourtesy, which they should sustain."

This imperious style made such an impression upon the Court, that all the importunity the Ambassadors could use, could get nothing done at *Cartagena* in pursuance of the Orders they had sent from the Court; but the poor Men were, after long attendance, forced to Transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them marched over Land, and were compelled to List themselves in the *Spanish* Service at Land; where they, for the most part, perished; care being in the mean time taken, that the Parliament Fleet should be received in all places, with all possible demonstration of respect and kindness; and the King sent a Ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to the Commander. In this Triumph he

He sails into
the River of
Lisbon.

B O O K Sailed from thence into *Portugal*, and dropped his
XII. Anchors in the River of *Lisbon*, at a very small distance from the Fleet of Prince *Rupert*; and suffered not any Ship to enter into that River; but denounced War against that Kingdom, if that Fleet were not presently delivered up into his hands.

Requires
 Prince Rupert's Fleet to
 be delivered
 up.

The *Portuguese* had received Prince *Rupert* very civilly, bought all the Prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free use of all their Ports, and furnished him with all things he stood in need of. The Queen, and the Prince of *Portugal* then living, who was a young Man of great hope and courage, made great professions of Friendship to our King, and of a desire to assist him by all the ways and means which could be proposed to them. But when their River was blocked up, their Ships taken, and the whole Kingdom upon the matter besieged by the Parliament Fleet, of which they knew the *Spaniard* would quickly make use, the Council was astonished, and knew not what to do: their free Trade with *England* was not only their profit, but their reputation; and, if they should be deprived of that, they should not be able to preserve it any where else; which would put the whole Kingdom into a flame; and therefore they besought their King, "that Prince *Rupert* might be desired to leave the River, and to carry his Fleet from thence;" which was not possible for him to do without fighting with the Enemy, to whom he was much inferior in strength of Shipping, and number of Men, by the loss he had sustained at *Cartagena*.

The Prince of *Portugal* had so great indignation at this overture made by the Council, that he declared

“ he would have all the Ships in the Port made ready,
 “ and would himself go on Board, and join with
 “ Prince *Rupert*, and fight the *English*, and drive them
 “ from thence : ” and he manifested a great desire to
 do so ; but the Council prevailed with the Queen not
 to consent to that. So in the end, after some Months
 stay there, and the Fleet being fully supplied with
 whatever it stood in need of, Prince *Rupert* found it
 necessary, upon the assurance the *Portuguese* gave
 him that the other Fleet should not follow him till
 after two Tides, to set Sail and leave that Kingdom ;
 which he did with so full a Gale, that the Parliament’s
 Commander, after so long a stay, found it to no pur-
 pose to follow him ; but took full vengeance upon
Portugal for rescuing his Prey from him ; until they
 were compelled, after great sufferings, to purchase
 their peace from *Cromwell* upon very hard conditions.

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Prince Ru-
pert escapes
out of the
River of
Lisbon with
his Fleet.

It seemed no good sign to the Ambassadors that
 Prince *Rupert* had left *Ireland* ; where there were so
 many good Ports, and where the Fleet had been so
 necessary for the carrying on his Majesty’s Service.
 But, in a short time after, they received advertisement,
 “ that the King had laid aside his purpose of going
 “ thither, and had taken new resolutions.” Before
 the Marquis of *Ormond* could draw his Army toge-
 ther, *Cromwell* had besieged *Tredagh* : and though
 the Garrison was so strong in point of number, and
 that number of so choice Men, that they could wish
 for nothing more than that the Enemy would attempt
 to take them by storm, the very next day after he
 came before the Town he gave a general Assault, and
 was beaten off with considerable loss. But, after a day

The affairs of
Ireland at this
time.

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Tredagh
taken by
storm.

more, he Affaulted it again in two places, with so much courage, that he entered in both; and though the Governor and some of the chief Officers retired in disorder into a Fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panic fear so possessed the Soldiers, that they threw down their Arms upon a general offer of Quarter: so that the Enemy entered the Works without resistance, and put every Man, Governor, Officer, and Soldier, to the Sword; and the whole Army being entered the Town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every Man that related to the Garrison, and all the Citizens who were *Irish*, Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword; and there being three or four Officers of Name, and of good Families, who had found some way by the humanity of some Soldiers of the Enemy, to conceal themselves for four or five days, being afterwards discovered they were butchered in cold blood.

This insupportable loss took away all hopes from the Marquis of *Ormond* of drawing an Army strong enough, and resolute enough, together, to meet *Cromwell* in the field, during the Summer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into those Quarters, where, in respect of the strong Passes, he might be secure, and from whence he might attempt upon the Enemy. *Cromwell* in the mean time took no rest, but having made himself terrible by that excess of rigor and cruelty, marched into *Munster* against the Lord *Inchiquin*, and that Body of *English* which was under His Command. Here he defied Fortune again; and marched so far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reasonable

Cromwell
marches into
Munster.

hope to receive Supplies, that he must necessarily have been starved, and could not have retired, all the Bridges over which he had passed being broken down, if the City of *Cork*, which he could not have forced, had not been by the Garrison basely delivered up to him; those Officers who had been most obliged to the Lord *Inchiquin*, and in whom he had most confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forsaking him: so that by the Example of *Cork*, and by the terror of *Tredagh*, the whole Province of *Munster*, in a very short time, fell into *Cromwell's* hands, except some few Towns and Sea-Ports, which, being Garrisoned by the *Irish*, would, neither Officers nor Soldiers, receive or obey any Orders which were sent from the Lord of *Ormond*. The King receiving information of this at *Fersey*, gave over the thought very reasonably of adventuring himself into *Ireland*; and dismissed the two Ships, which, by the direction of the Prince of *Orange*, had attended so long at *St. Maloe's*, to have waisted him thither.

His success
there.

The King
gives over
the thought of
going into
Ireland.

Though Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the other *Scottish* Lords, who remained in *Holland* when the King came into *France*, durst not return into their own Country, yet they held Intelligence with their Party there. And though the Marquis of *Argyle* had the sole power, yet he could not extinguish the impatient desire of that whole Nation, to have their King come to them. And every day produced instances enough, which informed him, how the affections of the People were generally disposed, and upon how slippery ground himself stood, if he were not supported by the King; and that the

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Argyle designs
to invite the
King into
Scotland.

Government, he was then possessed of, could not be lasting, except he had another Force to defend him, than that of his own Nation. And he durst not receive any from *Cromwell*, who would willingly have assisted him, for fear of being entirely deserted by all his Friends, who had been still firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the King into *Scotland*, and keeping the *Hamiltonian* Faction from entering with him, by the sentence that was already against them, and to oblige the King to submit to the Covenant, and all those other obligations which were at that time established; and if his Majesty would put himself into his hands upon those conditions, he should be sure to keep the power in himself under the King's name, and might reasonably hope that *Cromwell*, who made no pretence to *Scotland*, might be well enough pleased that his Majesty might remain there under His Government, and Assurance, that he should not give *England* or *Ireland* any disturbance.

Provides, that
a Message be
sent to his
Majesty to
Jersey upon
the old
Conditions.

Upon this presumption, he wished the Council of *Scotland*, and that Committee of the Parliament in whom the Authority was vested, to send again to the King (who, they thought, by this time, might be weary of *Jersey*) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the People did so passionately desire, he renewed all the solemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the King to come amongst them, but upon his first submitting to, and performing all those conditions. All things being thus settled, and agreed, they sent a Gentleman with Letters into *Jersey*, to invite his Majesty again to
come

come into his Kingdom of *Scotland*, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he should receive. The *Scottish* Lords, who are mentioned before to be then in *Holland*, were glad of this advance; and believed that if the King were there, they should easily find the way home again. And therefore they prevailed with the Prince of *Orange*, to write very earnestly to the King, and to recommend it to the Queen; and themselves made great instance to the Queen, with whom they had much credit, “that the King
“ would not lose this opportunity to improve his
“ condition.” No body presumed to advise him to submit to All that was proposed; and yet it was evident, that if he did not submit to All, he could have the benefit of none; but “that he should make such
“ an Answer as might engage the *Scots* in a Treaty,
“ for the King’s better information, and satisfaction
“ in some particulars; which being done, he should
“ imply a purpose to Transport his Person thither.

The Spring was now coming on, and though *Jersey* was a convenient place to retire to, in order to consider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reside in, nor would be longer safe, than whilst the Parliament had so much else to do, that it could not spare wherewithal to reduce it. The design for *Ireland* was at an end, and the despair of being welcome in any other place, compelled the King to think better of *Scotland*: and so, according to the advice he had received, he returned an Answer to the Message from *Scotland*, “that there were many particulars
“ contained in the Propositions which he did not
“ understand, and which it was necessary for him to

The King’s
Answer,
“ that he
“ would have

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“ a Treaty

“ with them in

“ Holland.

“ be advised in ; and in order thereunto, and that he
 “ might be well informed and instructed in what so
 “ nearly concerned him, he resolved, by such a time,
 “ which was set down, to find himself in *Holland*;
 “ where he desired to meet such Persons as his King-
 “ dom of *Scotland* would send to him, and to confer,
 “ and treat, and agree with those upon all things that
 “ might give his Subjects of that Kingdom satisfaction;
 “ which his Majesty did very much desire to do.”

The Queen had so good an opinion of many of the *Scottish* Lords, and so ill a one of many of the *English* who were about the King (in truth, she had so entire a despair of all other ways) that she was very desirous that the overtures from *Scotland* should be hearkened to, and embraced: besides that she found her Authority was not so great with the King, as she expected, she saw no possibility of their being long together: She knew well that the Court of *France*, that grew every day into a closer correspondence with *Cromwell*, would not endure that the King should make his Residence in any part of that Kingdom, and so shortened the Assignations which they had made for her own support, that she was at no ease, and begun to think of dissolving her own Family, and of her own retiring into a Monastery; which from that time she practised by degrees: and, no doubt, that consideration which made most impression upon the King, as it had done upon his Father, and terrified him most from complying with the *Scots* demands, which was the alteration it would make in Religion, and the Government of the Church, seemed not to Her of moment enough to reject the other conveniencies;

nor did she prefer the order, and decency of the Church of *England*, before the fordidness of the Kirk of *Scotland*, but thought it the best expedient to advance her own Religion, that the latter should triumph over the former. She therefore writ earnestly to the King her Son, “that he would entertain this motion from *Scotland*, as his only refuge; and that he would invite Commissioners to meet him in *Holland*, in such a place as the Prince of *Orange* should advise;” and desired that, “in his passage thither, he would appoint some place where her Majesty would meet him; that they might spend some days together in consultation upon what might concern them jointly.” In all which his Majesty complying, the City of *Beauvais* in *Picardy* was appointed for the interview; where both their Majesties met, and conversed together three or four days; and then the Queen returned to *Paris*, and the King passed through *Flanders* to *Breda*; which the Prince of *Orange* thought to be the fittest place for the Treaty, the States having no mind that the King should come any more to the *Hague*.

The Queen advises the King to agree with the Scots upon their Terms.

Their Majesties meet at *Beauvais*. The King goes to *Breda*.

The *Scottish* Commissioners came to *Breda* with the very same Propositions which had been formerly sent, and without the least mitigation, and as positive an exception to Persons: so that if the King should incline to go thither, he must go without any one Chaplain of his own: there were Ministers sent from *Scotland* to attend, and to instruct him. His Majesty must not carry with him any one Counsellor, nor any Person who had ever served his Father in the War against the Parliament, without taking the Covenant.

The *Scottish* Commissioners come to *Breda*, and the terms they bring.

B O O K And, that no body might have cause to complain, if
XII. they did go thither, that they were worse treated than they had reason to expect, the King himself, and all who should attend upon him, were first to sign the Covenant before they should be admitted to enter into the Kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any Man justly except against any thing that was afterwards done to him.

Here was no great Argument for consultation: no Man had so ill an understanding, as not to discern the violence that was offered to Honor, Justice, and Conscience; yet whoever objected against what was proposed, upon any of those considerations, was looked upon as a Party, because he himself could not be suffered to attend the King. It was thought to be of great Weight, that they who dissuaded the King from going into *Scotland*, upon those rude and barbarous terms, could not propose any thing else for him to do, nor any place where he might securely repose himself, with any hope of subsistence: a very sad State for a Prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifest enough, that the Kings of the Earth are not such a Body as is sensible of the Indignity, and Outrage, that is offered to any Member of it. The *Scottish Hamiltonian* Lords were thought to be the most competent Counsellors, since They, by going, were to be exposed to great rigor, and to undergo the severest part of all Censures. They could not sit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and knew well that they should not be suffered to be about the Person of the King: yet all these resolved to wait upon him, and persuaded him to believe, "that his Majesty's

“ presence would dissipate those Clouds; and that a
 “ little time would produce many alterations, which
 “ could not be presently effected.” For his Majesty’s
 signing the Covenant, “ he should tell the Commis-
 “ sioners, that he would defer it till he came thither,
 “ that he might think better of it; and that if then the
 “ Kirk should press it upon him, he would give them
 “ satisfaction. And they were confident, that after he
 “ should be there, he should be no more impor-
 “ tuned in it, but that even the Church-men them-
 “ selves, would contend to make themselves gracious
 “ to him.”

This kind of Argumentation wrought much with the Prince of *Orange*, but more with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had waited upon the King from the time of his Adventure with the Earl of *Holland* (against whose Person there was no exception) and with *Wilmot*, and *Wentworth* (who resolved to go with his Majesty, and would submit to any conditions, which would be required of them) and with others about the King, who could not digest the Covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promises those *Scottish* Lords made to them, who were like to grow into Authority again when they should be once in their native Air and upon their own Soil, prevailed with them to use all their credit with the King to embark himself, and try how propitious fortune would be to him in *Scotland*. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a strong despair of any other expedient, prevailed so far with his Majesty, that he resolved, upon what terms soever, to embark himself, in *Holland*, upon

The King
resolves for
Scotland.

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a Fleet which the Prince of *Orange* provided for him; and so with all the *Scottish*, and very few *English* Servants, to set Sail for *Scotland*.

Arguments of
some Lords
against the
King's going
to Scotland.

There were two very strong Arguments, which made deep impresson on those Lords who very vehemently dissuaded, and ever protested against his Majesty's going for *Scotland*, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the highest importance, they could not make use of to convert others, especially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The first, "that the Expedition of Duke *Hamilton* the
" year before, with an Army as numerous, and much
" better furnished, and provided, than *Scotland* could
" in many years be again enabled to send out, made
" it manifest enough, how little that Nation, how
" united soever, could prevail against the force of
" *England*:" the other, "that the whole, and abso-
" lute power of *Scotland* being, at that time, confes-
" sedly vested in the Marquis of *Argyle*, it might rea-
" sonably be feared, and expected, that the King
" should no sooner arrive there, and the least appear-
" ance be discovered of such resolutions, or altera-
" tions in the Affections of the People, upon which
" the *Hamiltonian* Faction wholly and solely de-
" pended, but *Argyle* would immediately deliver up
" the Person of the King into the hands of *Cromwell*;
" and with the Assistance He would willingly give,
" make that Kingdom tributary or subservient to him,
" whilst the King remained his Prisoner, and *Argyle*
" continued his Vice-gerent in *Scotland*." No doubt these objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of Apprehension, by many Men,

who were not blinded with passion, or amazed with despair: and though they were not able to give any other Counsel, what Course the King might steer with reasonable hope and security, they might yet warrantably dissuade his exposing himself to so many visible dangers as that Voyage was subject to both at Sea and Land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of King, in what obscurity soever, in any part of the world, was to be preferred before the empty name of King in any of his own Dominions; which was the best, that could reasonably be expected from the conditions which were imposed upon him; to which he was compelled to submit.

During this time, when the Ambassadors who were in *Spain*, expected every day to hear of his Majesty's being arrived in *Ireland*, and had thereupon importuned that Court for a despatch, the King gave them notice of his resolution, and directed them "to remain where they were, till he could better judge of his own Fortune." They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a strong aversion that the King should ever venture himself in the hands of that Party of the *Scottish* Nation, which had treated his Father so perfidiously. And they were now necessitated to stay there, where they had received so little Encouragement, and had no reason to expect more. They therefore resolved to set the best face they could upon it, and desired an Audience from the King: in which they told his Catholic Majesty, "that they had received Letters from the King their Master; who commanded them to inform his Majesty, who, he

The two Ambassadors in Spain had Order from the King to stay where they were.

They acquaint the King of Spain with their Master's

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resolution for
Scotland.

“ knew well, would be glad to hear of any good
 “ fortune that befel him, that it had now pleased God
 “ to work so far upon the hearts and actions of his
 “ Subjects of *Scotland*, that they had given over all
 “ those Factions and Animosities, which had hereto-
 “ fore divided them, and made them rather Instru-
 “ ments of mischiefs, than benefit to his blessed
 “ Father, and to himself: that they were now sensi-
 “ ble of all those Miscarriages, and had sent unani-
 “ mously to intreat his Majesty to come into that
 “ Kingdom, and to take them all into his Protection;
 “ with which his Majesty was so well satisfied, that
 “ he had laid aside the thought of transporting him-
 “ self into *Ireland*; which he had intended to do; and
 “ was gone into *Scotland*; where the Kingdom was
 “ entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could
 “ visit *England*, or *Ireland*, as he found it most con-
 “ venient: and that he had reason to believe, that
 “ his friends in either of the Kingdoms, would
 “ quickly appear in Arms, when they were sure to
 “ be so powerfully assisted, and seconded.” And they
 said, “ they would, from time to time, inform his
 “ Majesty of the good success that should fall out.”

The King of
Spain's
Answer to
hem.

The King professed “ to be very glad of this good
 “ News; and that they should assure the King their
 “ Master, that he would be always ready to make all
 “ the demonstration of a Brotherly Affection that the
 “ ill condition of his own Affairs would permit, and
 “ that, if it pleased God to give a Peace to the two
 “ Crowns, the world should see how forward he
 “ would be to revenge the wrong, and indignity
 “ the King of great *Britain* had undergone.

Though the Ambassadors themselves were afflicted

with the News of his Majesty's being gone for *Scotland*, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that Faction there, yet they found his Majesty was so much the more esteemed in this Court by it. He was before looked upon as being dispossessed, and disinherited of all his Dominions, as if he had no more Subjects than those few who were banished with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the rest. But now that he was possessed of one whole Kingdom, in which no Man appeared in Arms against him, a Kingdom which had been famous for many warlike actions, and which always bred a very warlike People, which had borne good parts in all the Wars of *Europe* in this Age, and had been celebrated in them, was a happy advance, and administered reasonable hope that he might be established in the other two Kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous Army on Foot at that very time: so that the Ambassadors were much better looked upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the *English* Merchants who lived in the Ports of *Spain*, as they had sometimes occasion to do, upon Taxes and Impositions laid upon them, contrary to the Treaties which had been made, and which they said were still in force, they were heard with respect; the Merchants were relieved; and many favors were done to particular Persons upon their desires and interposition: so that they were not so much out of Countenance as they had been, and all Men spoke with more freedom and detestation against the Rebellion in *England*, and the barbarity thereof, than they had used to do.

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There fell out at this time, and before the King left *Holland*, an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of *Scotland*, determined that the King should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that Nation, could not but have diverted his Majesty from that Northern Expedition; which, how unsecure soever it appeared to be for the King, was predestinated for a greater chastisement and mortification of that People, as it shortly after proved to be. When the King had left *Holland*, the Summer before, and intended only to make *France* his way to *Ireland*, he had given his Commission to the Marquis of *Mountrose*, to gather such a force together as by the help of the Northern Princes he might be enabled to do. Upon which the Marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of Success, sent several Officers who had served in *Germany*, and promised very much, to draw such Troops together as they should be enabled to do, and himself, with a great train of Officers and Servants, went for *Hamburgh*; which he appointed for the Rendezvous for all these Troops, and from whence he could in the mean time visit such Courts of the Neighbour-Princes and States, as he should be encouraged to do; and keep such Intelligence with his Friends in *Scotland*, as should provide for his reception.

The Marquis
of Mountrose
goes for
Hamburgh to
solicit for
Forces.

Besides the hopes and encouragement he had received from the Ambassador of *Wolfelte*, to expect good Supplies in *Denmark*, there were many Officers of good name and account in *Sweden*, of the *Scottish* Nation, who were grown Rich, and lived in plenty

in that Kingdom. With the principal of Them, the Marquis had held correspondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themselves, “that if the Marquis engaged himself in the King’s Service in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, they would give him notable Assistance in Money, Arms, and Men.” In a word, he sent, or went in Person, to both those Kingdoms; where he found the performance very disproportionable to their promises. Queen *Christina* had received an Agent from *England* with wonderful Civility and Grace, and expressed a great esteem of the Person of *Cromwell*, as a Man of glorious Achievements; and before she resigned the crown, which she in few years after did, she engaged it in a fast Alliance with the new Common-wealth, and disposed her Successor to look upon it as a necessary Support to his Crown, In *Denmark*, the Marquis found good Wishes enough, a hearty detestation of all the Villanies which had been acted in *England*, and as hearty wishes for the Advancement and Prosperity of the king’s Affairs; but the Kingdom itself was very Poor, and full of Discontent, the King not so much esteemed, because not so much feared, as his Father had been, and he had been compelled to make many unreasonable Concessions to *Holland*, that he might have Assistance from them, to Protect him from those Assaults and Invasions which were threatened from *Sweden*. So that the Marquis was obliged to return to *Hamburgh*, with very small Supplies, from either or both those Kingdoms: and there he received no better account from those Officers who had been sent into *Germany*. His design had always been to Land in the High-lands of *Scotland*,

A O O K before the Winter-Season should be over , both for
XII. the safety of his Embarkation , and that he might
have time to draw those People together, who, he
knew , would be willing to repair to him , before it
should be known at *Edinburgh* that he was Landed
in the Kingdom. He had , by frequent Messages,
kept a constant correspondence with those principal
Heads of the Clans who were most powerful in the
High-lands, and were of known , or unsuspected Af-
fection to the King , and advertised them of all his
motions and designs. And by them acquainted those
of the Low-lands of all his Resolutions; who had pro-
mised , upon the first notice of his arrival , to resort
with all their Friends and Followers to him.

Whether these Men did really believe , that their
own strength would be sufficient to subdue their
Enemies , who were grown generally odious, or
thought the bringing over Troops of Foreigners
would lessen the Numbers and Affections of the Na-
tives , they did write very earnestly to the Marquis ,
“ to hasten his coming over with Officers, Arms, and
“ Ammunition ;” for which he should find hands
enough ; and gave him notice, “ that the Committee
“ of Estates at *Edinburgh* had sent again to the
“ King to come over to them ; and that the People
“ were so impatient for his presence, that *Argyle* was
“ compelled to consent to the Invitation.” It is very
probable that this made the greatest impression upon
him. He knew very well how few Persons there were
about the King , who were like to continue firm in
those principles , which could only confirm his Ma-
jesty in his former Resolutions against the persuasions,

and importunities of many others, who knew how to represent to him the desperateness of his condition any other way, than by repairing into *Scotland* upon any Conditions. *Mountrose* knew, that of the two Factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacable Enemies; so that whichsoever prevailed, He should be still in the same State, the whole Kirk, of what temper soever, being alike malicious to Him; and hearing likewise of the successive Misfortunes in *Ireland*, he concluded, the King would not trust himself there. Therefore upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from *Germany* and those Northern Princes would not increase the strength he had already, he caused, in the depth of the Winter, those Soldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be Embarked, and sent Officers with them, who knew the Country, with directions that they should Land in such a place in the High-lands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or sent them Orders. And then in another Vessel Manned by People well known to him, and Commanded by a Captain very faithful to the King, and who was well acquainted with that Coast, he Embarked himself, and near one hundred Officers, and Landed in another Creek, not far from the other place, whither his Soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other Party were set safely on Shore in the places they designed; from whence the Marquis himself with some Servants, and Officers, repaired presently to the House of a Gentleman of Quality, with whom he had corresponded, who ex-

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pected him; by whom he was well received, and thought himself to be in security till he might put his Affairs in some method: and therefore ordered his other small Troops to contain themselves in those uncouth Quarters, in which they were, and where he thought they were not like to be disturbed by the visitation of any Enemy.

After he had stayed there a short time, it being in *March* about the end of the year 1649, he quickly possessed himself of an old Castle; which, in respect of the Situation in a Country so impossible for any Army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose: thither he conveyed the Arms, Ammunition, and Troops, which he had brought with him.

Publishes his
Declaration.

And then he published his Declaration, “ that he
“ came with the King’s Commission, to assist those
“ his good Subjects, and to preserve them from op-
“ pression: that he did not intend to give any inter-
“ ruption to the Treaty that he heard was entered
“ into with his Majesty; but, on the contrary, hoped
“ that his being in the head of an Army, how small
“ soever, that was faithful to the King, might ad-
“ vance the same. However, he had given sufficient
“ proof in his former Actions, that if any Agreement
“ were made with the King, upon the first Order
“ from his Majesty, he should lay down his Arms,
“ and dispose himself according to his Majesty’s
“ good pleasure.” These Declarations he sent to
his Friends to be scattered by them, and dispersed
amongst the People, as they could be able. He writ
likewise to those of the Nobility, and the heads of the
several Clans; “ to draw such Forces together, as

“ they thought necessary to join with him ;” and he received Answers from many of them, by which they desired him “ to advance more into the Land (for he was yet in the remotest parts of *Cathness*) and assured him, “ that they would meet him with good Numbers :” and they did prepare so to do, some really, and others, with a purpose to betray him.

In this state stood the Affair in the end of the year 1649: but because the unfortunate Tragedy of that noble Person succeeded so soon after, without the intervention of any notable circumstances to interrupt it, we will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be resumed in the proper season; which quickly ensued, in the beginning of the next year. The Marquis of *Argyle* was vigilant enough, to observe the motion of an Enemy that was so formidable to him; and had present information of his Arrival in the High-lands, and of the small Forces which he had brought with him. The Parliament was then sitting at *Edinburgh*, their Messenger being returned to them from *Jersey*, with an account, “ that the King would treat with their Commissioners at *Breda* ;” for whom they were preparing their Instructions.

The continuation of Mountrose's Affairs, after the end of the year 49. to his death.

The Alarm of *Mountrose's* being landed startled them all, and gave them no leisure to think of any thing else than of sending Forces to hinder the recourse of others to join with him. They immediately sent Colonel *Straghan* a diligent and active Officer, with a choice Party of the best Horse they had, to make all possible haste towards him, and to prevent the Insurrections, which they feared would be in

Colonel Straghan sent against him and his small Forces.

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several parts of the High-lands. And, within few days after, *David Lesley* followed with a stronger Party of Horse and Foot. The encouragement the Marquis of *Mountrose* received from his Friends, and the unpleasantness of the Quarters in which he was, prevailed with him to march, with these few Troops, more into the Land. And the High-landers flocking to him from all Quarters, though ill Armed, and worse Disciplined, made him undervalue any Enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. *Straghan* made such haste, that the Earl of *Southerland*, who at least pretended to have gathered together a Body of fifteen hundred Men to meet *Mountrose*, chose rather to join with *Straghan*: others did the like, who had made the same promises, or staid at home to expect the event of the first Encounter. The Marquis was without any Body of Horse to discover the motion of an Enemy, but depended upon all necessary Intelligence from the affection of the People; which he believed to be the same it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the Tyranny of *Argyle*, and his having caused very many to be barbarously murdered, without any form of Law or Justice, who had been in Arms with *Mountrose*, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon, and Indemnity, had so broken their hearts, that they were ready to do all Offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that *Straghan* was within a small distance of him, before he heard of his approach; and those High-landers, who had seemed to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified, or corrupted, left him on a sudden, or threw down their Arms; so that he had none left,

left, but a Company of good Officers, and five or six hundred Foreigners, *Dutch* and *Germans*, who had been acquainted with their Officers. With these, he betook himself to a place of some advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the bushes and small shrubs which filled it: and there they made a defence for some time with notable Courage.

But the Enemy being so much superior in number, the Common-Soldiers, being all Foreigners, after about a hundred of them were killed upon the Place, threw down their Arms; and the Marquis, seeing all lost, threw away his Ribbon and *George* (for he was Knight of the Garter) and found means to change his Clothes with a Fellow of the Country, and so after having gone on foot two or three miles, he got into a House of a Gentleman, where he remained concealed about two days: most of the other Officers were shortly after taken Prisoners, all the Country desiring to merit from *Argyle* by betraying all those into his hands which they believed to be his Enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the House, or any other way, the Marquis himself became their Prisoner. The Strangers who were taken, were set at Liberty, and Transported themselves into their own Countries; and the Castle, in which there was a little Garrison, presently rendered itself; so that there was no more fear of an Enemy in those parts.

By whom
Moutrose
is routed.

The Marquis
of Mount-
rose taken
Prisoner.

The Marquis of *Moutrose*, and the rest of the Prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, delivered to *David Lesley*; who was come up with his Forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in Triumph to *Edinburgh*; whither Notice was

B O O K quickly sent of their great Victory; which was re-
XII. ceived there with wonderful joy, and acclamation. *David Lesley* treated the Marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same Clothes, and Habit, in which he was taken; but at last permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, such as became a great Man; his countenance Serene and Cheerful, as one that was superior to all those reproaches, which they had prepared the People to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass.

Brought to
Edinburgh.

When he came to one of the Gates of *Edinburgh*, he was met by some of the Magistrates, to whom he was delivered, and by them presently put into a new Cart purposely made, in which there was a high Chair, or Bench, upon which he sat, that the People might have a full view of him, being bound with a Chord drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the Cart. When he was in this posture, the Hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the Cart in his Livery, and with his Bonnet on; the other Officers, who were taken Prisoners with him, walking two and two before the Cart; the Streets; and Windows being full of People to behold the Triumph over a Person whose Name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the Magistrates of that place had, upon their Knees, delivered the Keys of that City.

He is brought
before the
Parliament;

In this manner he was carried to the Common Goal, where he was received and treated as a Common Malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of *Lowden*, the

Chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent Declaration against him: told him, “ he had broken all the
 “ Covenants by which that whole Nation stood ob-
 “ liged; and had impiously rebelled against God,
 “ the King, and the Kingdom; that he had commit-
 “ ted many horrible Murders, Treasons, and Impie-
 “ ties, for all which he was now brought to suffer
 “ condign punishment;” with all those insolent re-
 proaches upon his Person, and his actions, which the
 liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

Permission was then given him to speak; and with-
 out the least trouble in his countenance, or disorder,
 upon all the indignities he had suffered, he told them,
 “ since the King had owned them so far as to treat
 “ with them, he had appeared before them with re-
 “ verence, and bare-headed, which otherwise he
 “ would not willingly have done: that he had done
 “ nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to
 “ repent; that the first Covenant, he had taken, and
 “ complied with it, and with them who took it, as
 “ long as the ends for which it was ordained were
 “ observed; but when he discovered, which was
 “ now evident to all the world, that private and par-
 “ ticular Men designed to satisfy their own ambition
 “ and interest, instead of considering the Public
 “ benefit; and that, under the pretence of reforming
 “ some errors in Religion, they resolved to abridge,
 “ and take away the King’s just power, and lawful
 “ authority, he had withdrawn himself from that En-
 “ gagement: that for the League and Covenant, he
 “ had never taken it, and therefore could not break
 “ it: and it was now too apparent to the whole

His behavi-
our there.

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“ Christian World, what monstrous mischiefs it had
 “ produced : that when, under color of it, an Army
 “ from *Scotland* had invaded *England* in Assistance
 “ of the Rebellion that was then against their Lawful
 “ King, he had, by his Majesty’s Command, received
 “ a Commission from him to raise Forces in *Scotland*,
 “ that he might thereby divert them from the other
 “ odious prosecution : that he had executed that
 “ Commission with the obedience and duty he owed
 “ to the King ; and in all the circumstances of it, had
 “ proceeded like a Gentleman ; and had never suf-
 “ fered any Blood to be shed but in the heat of the
 “ Battle ; and that he saw many Persons there, whose
 “ lives he had saved : that when the King command-
 “ ed him, he laid down his Arms, and withdrew
 “ out of the Kingdom ; which they could not have
 “ compelled him to have done. He said, he was now
 “ again entered into the Kingdom by his Majesty’s
 “ Command, and with his Authority : and what
 “ Success soever it might have pleased God to have
 “ given him, he would always have obeyed any
 “ commands he should have received from him.” He
 advised them, “ to consider well of the consequence
 “ before they proceeded against him, and that all
 “ his Actions might be examined, and judged by the
 “ Laws of the Land, or those of Nations.

As soon as he had ended his discourse, he was
 ordered to withdraw ; and, after a short space, was
 again brought in ; and told by the Chancellor, “ that
 “ he was, on the Morrow, being the one-and-twen-

The Sentence
 against him.

“ tieth of *May* 1650, to be carried to *Edinburgh*-
 “ Cross, and there to be hanged upon a Gallows

“ thirty foot high, for the space of three hours, and
 “ then to be taken down, and his head to be cut off
 “ upon a Scaffold, and hanged on *Edinburgh-Tol-*
 “ booth; his Legs and Arms to be hanged up in
 “ other public Towns of the Kingdom, and his body
 “ to be buried at the place where he was to be exe-
 “ cuted, except the Kirk should take off his Excom-
 “ munication; and then his body might be buried
 “ in the common place of burial.” He desired, “ that
 “ he might say somewhat to them;” but was not
 suffered, and so was carried back to the Prison.

That he might not enjoy any ease or quiet during
 the short remainder of life, their Ministers came pre-
 sently to insult over him with all the reproaches ima-
 ginable; pronounced his damnation; and assured
 him, “ that the judgment he was the next day to
 “ suffer, was but an easy Prologue to that which he
 “ was to undergo afterwards.” After many such bar-
 barities, they offered to intercede for him to the Kirk
 upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he
 too well understood the form of Their Common-
 Prayer, in those Cases, to be only the most virulent,
 and insolent imprecations upon the Persons of those
 they prayed against “ (Lord, vouchsafe Yet to touch
 “ the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible Sin-
 “ ner, this wicked, perjured, and prophane Person,
 “ who refuses to hearken to the voice of thy Kirk,”
 and the like charitable expressions) and therefore he
 desired them “ to spare their pains, and to leave him
 “ to his own Devotions.” He told them, “ that they
 “ were a miserable, deluded, and deluding People;
 “ and would shortly bring that poor Nation under

His discourse
 with the
 Presbyterian
 Ministers.

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“ the most insupportable Servitude, ever People had
“ submitted to.” He told them, “ he was prouder to
“ have his head set upon the place it was appointed
“ to be, than he could have been to, have had his
“ Picture hang in the King’s Bed-Chamber: that he
“ was so far from being troubled that his four Limbs
“ were to be hanged in four Cities of the Kingdom,
“ that he heartily wished that he had flesh enough to
“ be sent to every City in *Christendom*, as a Testi-
“ mony of the Cause for which he suffered.”

His Execu-
tion.

The next day, they executed every part and circumstance of that barbarous Sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greatest piety, that a good Christian could manifest. He magnified the virtue, courage, and Religion of the last King, exceedingly commended the justice, and goodness, and understanding of the present King; and prayed, “ that they might not betray Him, as they had done
“ his Father.” When he had ended all he meant to say, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one Scene more to Act of their Tyranny, the Hangman brought the Book that had been published of his truly Heroic Actions, whilst he had commanded in that Kingdom, which Book was tied in a small Chord that was put about his Neck. The Marquis smiled at this new instance of their Malice, and thanked them for it; and said, “ he was pleased that it should
“ be there; and was prouder of wearing it than
“ ever he had been of the Garter;” and so renewing some devout Ejaculations, he patiently endured the last Act of the Executioner.

Soon after, the Officers who had been taken with him, Sir *William Urry*, Sir *Francis Hay*, and many others, of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in several quarters of the Kingdom; many of them being suffered to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to save, one Colonel *Whitford*; who, when he was brought to die, said "he knew the reason why he was put to death; which was only because he had killed *Doristaus* at the *Hague*;" who was one of those who had joined in the Murder of the last King. One of the Magistrates, who were present to see the Execution, caused it to be suspended, till he presently informed the Council what the Man had said; and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and so preserved the Gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that Action.

Thus died the gallant Marquis of *Mountrose*, after he had given as great a Testimony of Loyalty, and Courage, as a Subject can do, and performed as wonderful Actions in several Battles, upon as great inequality of Numbers, and as great disadvantages in respect of Arms, and other preparations for War, as have been performed in this Age. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction, many of whose Ancestors had exercised the highest Charges under the King in that Kingdom, and had been allied to the Crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improved by a good Education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of *Argyle* (as he was too apt to contemn

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The Execution of his Officers.

His Character.

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those he did not love) who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary Man, having all other good Talents in a very great degree. *Mountrose* was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any Enterprize for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate to other Men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other Men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility, and generosity) than with his Superiors or Equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without Vanity, but his Virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his Memory preserved, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious Persons of the Age in which he lived.

The King
receives the
News of all
this.

The King received an Account and Information of all these particulars, before he embarked from *Holland*, without any other Apology for the Affront and Indignity to himself, than that they assured him, “ that the proceeding against the late Marquis of “ *Mountrose* had been for his Service.” They who were most displeased with *Argyle* and his Faction, were not sorry for this inhuman, and monstrous prosecution; which at the same time must render him the more odious, and had rid them of an Enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they persuaded the King, who was enough afflicted with the News, and all the circumstances of it, “ that he might sooner take revenge

“ upon that People by a temporary complying with
 “ them, and going to them, than staying away, and
 “ absenting himself, which would invest them in an
 “ absolute Dominion in that Kingdom, and give
 “ them power to corrupt or destroy all those who
 “ yet remained faithful to him, and were ready to
 “ spend their lives in his Service:” and so his Ma-
 jesty pursued his former resolution of embarking
 for *Scotland*.

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In *Ireland*, after the Massacre of that Body of *Eng-* The affairs
of Ireland.
lish at *Tredagh*, and the treacherous giving up the
 Towns in *Munster*, by the Officers of the Lord *Inchi-*
quin, there broke out so implacable a jealousy amongst
 the *Irish* against all the *English*, that no Orders of the
 Marquis of *Ormond* found any obedience, nor could
 he draw an Army together. At the making of the
 Peace, he had consented that the Confederate Roman-
 Catholics should name a Number of the Commis-
 sioners, by whose Orders and Ministry all Levies of
 Men, and all Collections of Money were to be made,
 according to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant.
 And such Persons were named, in whose Affections,
 for the most part, the Lieutenant was well satisfied,
 and the rest were such as were not like to be able to
 give any interruption. A certain Number of these
 were appointed to be always in the Army, and near
 the Person of the Lord-Lientenant, and the rest in
 their several Stations, where they were most like to
 advance the Service. Many of these Commissioners
 were of the Roman-Catholic Nobility, Persons of
 Honor, and very sensible of the weakness, wilfulness,
 and wickedness of that Rebellion; and did manifest

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all possible zeal and affection to the King's Service, engaging their Persons in all Enterprises of danger, and using all possible industry to raise Men and Money, whereby the Lord Lieutenant might be enabled to carry on the War in the Spring. But many of the other, after those misfortunes had fallen out, which are mentioned before, either totally desponded, and rather thought of providing for themselves than for the preservation of the Public; or fomented the jealousies which were amongst the *Irish*, and incensed them against the *English*, who were still with the Lord Lieutenant; so that his Orders were not obeyed at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their Clergy and Friars publicly incensed the People against the Articles of the Peace, and desired to have an Army raised apart under a General of their own.

The Lord Lieutenant now discovered the Reason, why *Owen O Neile* had refused to consent to the Peace which the Confederate Roman-Catholics had made with the King, and kept his Army in *Ulster* from submitting thereunto, and pretended to desire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the jealousy that was between Him and *Preston*, and the Animosity between those old *Irish* of *Ulster*, and the others of the other Provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the Marquis of *Ormond*'s transporting himself out of *France*, and that the correspondence was discovered to be between Him and the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Treaty begun with the Confederate Catholics, the close Committee at *Westminster* sent secret Instructions to *Monk*, who Commanded part of their

Forces in *Ireland*, “that he should endeavour to treat
“ with *Owen O Neile*, and so divide him from the rest
“ of the *Irish* ;” which *Monk* found opportunity to
do: and it was no sooner proposed than hearkened
unto by *O Neile*; who presently sent a trusty Mes-
senger with such Propositions to *Monk*, as he desired
to have granted to him. He offered, “with his Army,
“ which should always consist of such a Number of
“ Horse and Foot, and Artillery, as should be agreed
“ between them, to serve the Parliament; and not
“ to separate from their Interest;” and proposed,
“ that he, and all his Party that should adhere to
“ him, should enjoy the Exercise of their Religion,
“ without any prejudice or disadvantage: that him-
“ self might be restored to those Lands which his
“ Ancestors had been possessed of in *Tyrone*, *London-*
“ *Derry*, or any other parts of *Ireland*; and that all
“ those, who had or would adhere to him, should
“ be likewise restored to their Estates; and that an
“ Act of Oblivion might be granted.” *Monk* received
these Propositions; and after he had perused them,
he sent him word, “that there were some particulars,
“ which, he doubted, would shock and offend the
“ Parliament, and therefore desired they might be
“ altered;” and proposed the Alterations he advised;
which principally concerned the public Exercise of
their Religion; which he so qualified, that they
might well enough satisfy; and proposed, “that, if
“ *O Neile* would consent to those Alterations, he
“ would return the Treaty signed by him; which he
“ would immediately send over to the Parliament for
“ their confirmation; and that, in the mean time,

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“ there might be a Cessation of Arms between them
“ for three Months; in which time, and much less,
“ he presumed, he should receive a ratification of the
“ Treaty from the Parliament.”

Owen O Neile consented to the Alterations, set his Hand and Seal to the Treaty, and returned it to *Monk*, with his consent likewise to the Cessation for three Months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the Confederate Council at *Kilkenny* in the Peace with the King. *Monk* sent it presently to the Committee, which had given him Authority to do what he had done. But their Affairs were now better composed at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for *Ireland*; besides, they had not Authority to make any such ratification, but presented it to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the House was on fire; all Men inveighed against

The House
refuses to ra-
tify *Monk's*
Treaty with
Owen O Neile.

“ the presumption of *Monk*, who deserved to be dis-
“ placed, and to have his Command taken from him,
“ and to have exemplary punishment inflicted on
“ him. They remembered how criminal they had
“ declared it to be in the King himself, to have treat-
“ ed, and made a Peace with the *Irish* Rebels: and
“ what would the People think, and say, if any
“ countenance should be given to the same transgres-
“ sion by the Parliament? if they should ratify a
“ Treaty made by the most notorious of the Rebels,
“ and with that People under his Command, who
“ were the most notorious Contrivers of that Rebel-
“ lion, and the most bloody Executioners of it?”
for the most merciless Massacres had been committed

in *Ulster*, by that very People who now constituted that Army of which *Owen O Neile* was now General. After all the passion and choler which they thought necessary to express upon this subject, they declared, “ that they had given no Authority to *Monk* to enter
“ into that Treaty ; and therefore, that it was void,
“ and should never be confirmed by them ; but that,
“ since he had proceeded out of the sincerity of his
“ heart, and as he thought (how erroneously soever)
“ for the good and benefit of the Common-wealth,
“ he should be excused ; and no farther questioned
“ thereupon.” For they knew well, that he could produce such a Warrant from those in Authority, as would well justify his proceeding : and so the Treaty with *Owen O Neile* became void, though they had received a very considerable benefit by it ; for though the *Scots* in *Ulster* had not yet submitted to the Peace, and had not received directions from *Edinburgh* to acknowledge the Authority of the Lord Lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the Murder of the late King, they had used all Acts of Hostility against the Parliament-Forces, and had besieged *London-Derry* ; the only considerable place that yielded obedience to the Parliament ; which was defended by Sir *Charles Coote*, and when it was brought to some extremity, by the Cessation made with *Owen O Neile*, and by his connivance and assistance, *London-Derry* was relieved ; and *O Neile* finding himself deluded by the Parliament, sent then to offer his Service and Conjunction to the Lord-Lieutenant, with abundant professions of fidelity, and revenge.

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Cromwell, made notable use of this Animosity between the *Irish* amongst themselves, and of the jealousy they all appeared to have of the Marquis of *Ormond* and of those who adhered to him; and used all the Endeavours he could, by some Prisoners who were taken, and by others who were in the Towns which were betrayed to him, and were well known to have affection for the Marquis, to procure a conference with him. He used to ask in such Company, “ what the Marquis of *Ormond* had to do with “ *Charles Stuart*, and what obligations he had ever “ received from him ? ” and then would mention the hard measure his Grandfather had received from King *James*, and the many years Imprisonment he had sustained by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at last compelled to do. He said “ he was confident, if the Marquis and He could meet together, “ upon conference, they should part very good “ friends. ” And many of those with whom he held these discourses, by his permission and licence, informed the Marquis of all he said; who endeavoured nothing but to put himself into such a Posture, as to be able to meet him as he desired to do.

When *Cromwell* saw that he should be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, besides the Army that yet remained under *Owen O Neile* so much disobliged, and provoked, there were still vast Bodies of the *Irish*, which might be drawn together into several Armies, much greater and superior in number to all his Forces, and that they had several great Towns, and strong holds in their power, he de-

Cromwell
gives the
Irish leave
to transport
themselves

clared a full Liberty, and Authority to all the Officers with the *Irish*, and to all other Persons whatsoever, to raise what Men they would, and to transport them for the service of any Foreign Princes with whom they could make the best conditions; and gave notice to the *Spanish* and *French* Ministers, and Agents at *London*, of the liberty he had granted. Upon which many Officers who had served the King, and remained in *London* in great poverty and want, made conditions with *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, to raise Regiments and transport them into *Spain*; and many Officers, who were already in *Spain*, as well *English* as *Irish*, contracted with the Ministers in that Court to raise and transport several Regiments into that Kingdom from *Ireland*; for which they received very great Sums of Money in hand; many Merchants joining with them in the Contract, and undertaking the transportation upon very good conditions; there being no other danger but of the Sea in the undertaking; insomuch that, in very few months above a year, there were embarked in the Ports of *Ireland* above five-and-twenty thousand Men for the Kingdom of *Spain*; whereof not half were ever drawn into the Field there, and very few ever lived to return. For the Officers and Masters of Ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their Men at such Ports as were assigned to them, and where care was taken for their reception, and conduct to the Quarters which were appointed, according to the service to which they were designed, either for *Catalonia*, or *Portugal* (after they had been long at Sea, by which the Soldiers, who were crowded more together into one ship than

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XII.into any
Prince's
service.

B O O K was fit for so long Voyages, had contracted many diseases, and many were dead, and thrown over board) as soon as they came upon the Coast made all haste to Land, how far soever from the place at which they stood bound to deliver their Men; by which, in those places that could make resistance, they were not suffered to Land, and in others no Provision was made for their reception or march, but very great Numbers were starved or knocked in the head by the Country-People, and few ever came up to the Armies, except Officers; who flocked to *Madrid* for the remainder of their Monies; where the Ministers received them with reproaches for not observing their conditions, and refused to pay either them, or the Masters of the Ships, what remained to be paid by them. This was the Case of too many: though the truth is, where the Article were punctually observed, and the Ships arrived in the very Ports assigned, by the defect in the Orders sent from the Court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor Men were often kept from disembarking, till some Officers went to *Madrid*, and returned with more positive Orders, and afterwards so ill Provision was made for their refreshing and march, that rarely half of those who were shipped in *Ireland*, ever lived to do any Service in *Spain*: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the Ministers there should issue out such vast Sums in Money for the raising of Soldiers, and bringing them into the Kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the Officers, and take so very little care to cherish, and nourish them, when they came thither; which manifested how loose the Government was.

It

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the *Irish* for the service of *Spain*, than of *France*; yet the Cardinal employed more active and dexterous Instruments to make use of the Liberty that was granted, and Shipping was more easily procured, the passage being shorter; insomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thousand Men at the same time Transported out of *Ireland* into the Kingdom of *France*; of whose behaviour in the one Kingdom and the other, there will be abundant Argument hereafter to discourse at large. In the mean time, it is enough to observe that when the King's Lieutenant, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts, which the Confederate Roman Catholics had made to, and with him, could not draw together a Body of five thousand Men (by which he might have been able to have given some stop to the current of *Cromwell's* successes) *Cromwell* himself found a way to send above forty thousand Men out of that Kingdom for the service of Foreign Princes; which might have been enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restored it to the King's entire obedience.

In *England*, the Spirits of all the loyal Party were so broken and subdued, that they could scarce breathe under the insupportable burdens which were laid upon them by imprisonments, compositions, and sequestrations. Whatever Articles they had made in the War, and whatever promises had been made of Pardon and Indemnity, they were now called upon to finish their Composition for their Delinquency, and paid dear for the credit they had given to the pro-

The low condition of the Loyal Party in England.

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fessions and declarations of the Army, when it seemed to have pity, and complained of the severe and rigorous proceeding against the King's Party, and extorting unreasonable penalties from them; which then they desired might be moderated. But now the Mask was off they sequestered all their Estates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they should compound; which they were forced to do at so unreasonable rates, that many were compelled to sell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the support of their Families; which remainder was still liable to whatever impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their Persons were to Imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless report was raised of some Plot, and Conspiracy against the State.

The Parliament, which consisted only of those Members who had sat in Judgment, and had solemnly murdered the King, and of those who as solemnly under their hands had approved, and commended what the others had done, met with no opposition or contradiction from any but an entire submission from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own Army which had contributed most to the Grandeur and Empire of which they were possessed, the Levellers. That People had been countenanced by *Cromwell* to enter into Cabals and Confederacies to corrupt, and dissolve the discipline of the Army, and by his Artifices had been applied to bring all his crooked designs to pass. By them he broke the strict Union between the Parliament and the Scots, and then took the King out of the hands of the Parliament,

The Levellers
mutiny: and
are suppressed
by Fairfax.

and kept him in the Army, with so many fair professions of intending better to his Majesty, and his Party, than the other did, by them the Presbyterians had been affronted, and trodden under foot, and the City of *London* exposed to disgrace and infamy; by them he had broken the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, driven out of the Parliament, by force of Arms, all those who desired peace, and at last executed his barbarous malice upon the Sacred Person of the King: and when he had applied them to all those uses, for which he thought them to be most fit, he hoped, and endeavoured to have reduced them again, by a severe hand, into that order and obedience, from whence he had seduced them, and which was now as necessary to his future purpose of Government. But they had tasted too much of the pleasure of having their part, and share in it, to be willing to be stripped, and deprived of it; and made an unskilful computation of what they should be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in those Changes and Revolutions which are mentioned; not considering, that the superior Officers of the Army were now united with the Parliament, and concurred entirely in the same designs. And therefore when they renewed their former Expostulations and Demands from the Parliament, they were Cashiered, and Imprisoned, and some of them put to death. Yet about the time that *Cromwell*, who had prosecuted them with great fury, was going for *Ireland*, they recovered their courage, and resolved to obtain those Concessions by force, which were refused to be granted upon their request: and so they mutinied in several Parts, upon

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B **O** **O** **K** XII. presumption that the rest of the Army, who would not join with them in public, would yet never be prevailed with to oppose, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceived them; for the Parliament no sooner commanded their General *Fairfax* to suppress them, than he drew Troops together, and fell upon them at *Banbury*, *Burford*, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppressed that Faction; and the Orders of those at *Westminster* met with no more opposition.

This was the State and Condition of the three Kingdoms at the end of the year 1649, some few Months after the King Embarked himself in *Holland* for *Scotland*. And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate Actions, We will end this discourse, according to the method We have used, with this year: though hereafter We shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years in less room, whilst the King rested in a patient Expectation of God's Blessing, and Deliverance.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
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Exod. ix. 16, 17.

*And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up,
for to show in thee my power, and that my name may
be declared throughout all the Earth. As yet exaltest
thou thyself against my People?*

THE Marquis of *Argyle*, who did not believe that the King would ever have ventured into *Scotland* upon the conditions he had sent, was surprised with the account the Commissioners had given him, “that
“ his Majesty resolved to Embark the next day;
“ that he would leave all his Chaplains, and his
“ other Servants behind him, and only deferred to
“ take the Covenant himself till he came thither,
“ with a resolution to satisfy the Kirk if they pressed
“ it.” Thereupon he immediately despatched away another Vessel with new Propositions, which the Commissioners were to insist upon, and not to consent to the King’s coming into that Kingdom, without He likewise consented to those. But that Vessel met not with the King’s Fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the Parliament, which attended to intercept

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*Argyle
sends new
Propositions
which misse
the King.*

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The King
arrives in
Scotland.

The King
takes the
Covenant.

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Hamilton and
Aulderdale

the King, had held its course more Northward, where there are good Harbours; and so had put into a Harbour near *Sterlin*, that is, within a day's Journey of it, but where there was no Town nearer than that for his Majesty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary Passengers.

From thence notice was sent to the Council of the King's arrival: the first welcome he received, was a new demand "that he would sign the Covenant himself, before he set his foot on shore;" which all about him pressed him to do: and he now found, that he had made haste thither upon very unskilful imaginations, and presumptions: yet he consented unto what they so imperiously required, that he might have leave to put himself into the hands of those who resolved nothing less than to serve him. The Lords of the other Party, who had prevailed with him to submit to all that had been required of him, quickly found that they had deceived both Him and Themselves, and that no body had any authority but those Men who were their mortal Enemies. So that they would not expose themselves to be imprisoned, or to be removed from the King, but, with his Majesty's leave, and having given him the best advice they could, what he should do for Himself, and what he should do for Them, they put themselves on Shore before the King disembarked; and found means to go to those places where they might be some time concealed, and which were like to be at distance enough from the King. And shortly after Duke *Hamilton* retired to the Island of *Arran*, which belonged to himself; where he had a little House

well enough accommodated, the Island being for the most part inhabited with wild Beasts: *Lautherdale* concealed himself amongst his Friends; taking care both to be well informed of all that should pass about the King, and to receive their advice upon any occasions.

The King was received by the Marquis of *Argyle* with all the outward respect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the *English* Servants he had of any Quality, were removed from his Person, the Duke of *Buckingham* only excepted. The rest, for the most part, were received into the Houses of some Persons of Honor, who lived at a distance from the Court, and were themselves under a cloud for their known affections, and durst only attend the King to kiss his hand, and then retired to their Houses that they might give no occasion of jealousy; others of his Servants were not suffered to remain in the Kingdom, but were forced presently to reembark themselves for *Holland*; amongst which was *Daniel O Neile*, who hath been often mentioned before, and who came from the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Holland*, just when his Majesty was ready to Embark, and so waited upon him; and was no sooner known to be with his Majesty (as he was a Person very generally known) but he was apprehended by order from the Council, for being an *Irish*-man, and having been in Arms on the late King's behalf in the late War; for which they were not without some discourse of putting him to death; but they did immediately banish him the Kingdom, and obliged him to sign a paper,

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depart from
the King.

Argyle
receives the
King.

Most of the
King's English
Servants re-
moved from
him.

Daniel O
Neile ap-
prehended by
order of the
Council of
Scotland;
and banished.

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Mr. Long also
sent away.Their Clergy
always about
the King.Their Ser-
mons before
him.

by which he consented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the Kingdom.

They sent away likewise Mr. *Robert Long*, who was his Principal, if not only, Secretary of State, and had very much persuaded his going thither; and Sir *Edward Walker*, who was Clerk of the Council, and had been Secretary at War during the late War, and some others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other Servants of all conditions about the King, but principally relied upon their Clergy; who were in such a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of instructing him in Religion: and so they obliged him to their constant hours of their long Prayers, and made him observe the *Sundays* with more rigor than the *Jews* accustomed to do their Sabbath; and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days, and if his looks and gestures did not please them, whilst all their Prayers and Sermons, at which he was compelled to be present, were libels, and bitter invectives against all the Actions of his Father, the Idolatry of his Mother, and his own Malignity.

He was not present in their Councils, nor were the results thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the least degree, communicated with, in any part of the Government: Yet they made great show of outward Reverence to him, and even the Chaplains, when they used Rudeness and Barbarity in their reprehensions and reproaches, approached him still with bended knees, and in the humblest postures. There was never a better Courtier than *Argyle*; who used

all possible address to make himself gracious to the King, entertained him with very pleasant discourses, with such insinuations, that the King did not only very well like his Conversation, but often believed that he had a mind to please and gratify him: but then, when his Majesty made any attempt to get some of his Servants about him, or to reconcile the two Factions, that the Kingdom might be united, he gathered up his countenance, and retired from him, without ever yielding to any one Proposition that was made to him by his Majesty. In a word, the King's Table was well served; there he sat in Majesty, waited upon with decency: he had good Horses to ride abroad to take the Air, and was then well attended; and, in all public Appearances, seemed to want nothing that was due to a great King. In all other respects, with reference to Power to oblige or gratify any Man, to dispose or order any thing, or himself to go to any other place than was assigned to him, he had nothing of a Prince, but might very well be looked upon as a Prisoner.

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Argyle's
behaviour to
him.

But that which was of state and lustre made most noise, and was industriously transmitted into all Nations and States; the other of disrespect or restraint, was not communicated; and if it could not be entirely concealed, it was considered only as a Faction between particular great Men, who contended to get the Power into their hands, that they might the more notoriously and eminently serve that Prince whom they all equally acknowledged. The King's Condition seemed wonderfully advanced, and his being possessed of a Kingdom without a Rival, in

BOOK XIII. which there was no appearance of an Enemy, looked like an earnest for the Recovery of the other Two, and, for the present, as a great addition of Power to him in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, by a conjunction, and absolute Submission of all the *Scots* in *Ulster* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant there.

All Men who had dissuaded his Majesty to repair into *Scotland*, were looked upon as very weak Politicians, or as Men who opposed the Public good, because they were excluded, and might not be suffered to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the design, valued themselves exceedingly upon their activity in that Service. The States of *Holland* thought they had merited much in suffering their Ships to Transport him, and so being ministerial to his greatness; which they hoped would be remembered; and they gave all Countenance to the *Scottish* Merchants and Factors who lived in their Dominions, and some secret Credit, that they might send Arms and Ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the King's Service in that Kingdom. *France* itself looked very cheerfully upon the change; Congratulated the Queen with much Ceremony, and many Professions; and took pains to have it thought and believed, that they had had a share in the Counsel, and contributed very much to the reception the King found in *Scotland*, by their influence upon *Argyle* and his Party. And it hath been mentioned before, how great a Reputation this little dawning of Power, how clouded soever, gave to the Ambassadors in *Spain*, and had raised them, from such a degree of disrespect, as was near to contempt,

to the full dignity and estimation in that Court that was due to the Station in which they were. B O O K
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There fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifestation of the Affection of that Court, and indeed of the Nation. As *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* had used all the Credit he had, to dispose that Court to a good correspondence with the Parliament, so he had employed as much care to encline those in *England* to have a confidence in the Affection of his Master, and assured them, "that if they would send an Ambassador, or other Minister into *Spain*, he should find a good reception." The Parliament, in the infancy of their Common-wealth, had more inclination to make a Friendship with *Spain* than with *France*, having at that time a very great prejudice to the Cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from *Don Alonzo*, they resolved to send an Envoy to *Madrid*; and made choice of one *Ascham*, a Scholar, who had been concerned in drawing up the King's Trial, and had written a Book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the Allegiance which is due from Subjects to their Sovereigns, comes to be determined after a Conquest; and that, from that term, it ought to be paid to those who had subdued them: a speculation they thought fit to cherish.

Ascham sent
Agent into
Spain from the
Parliament
of *England*.

This Man, unacquainted with business, and unskilled in languages, attended by three others, the one a Renegado *Franciscan*-Friar, who had been bred in *Spain*, and was well versed in the Language; another, who was to serve in the condition of a Secretary; and the third, an inferior Fellow for any Service, arrived

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XIII.

The Ambaf-
fadors there
expostulate
with Don
Lewis about it.

His Answer.

all in *Spain* in an *English* Merchant's Ship : of which *Don Alonzo* gave such timely notice , that he was received and entertained by the chief Magistrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the Court. The Town was quickly full of the rumor, that an Ambassador was landed from *England* , and would be received there ; which no body seemed to be well pleased with. And the Ambassadors expostulated with *Don Lewis de Haro* with some warmth, " that
" his Catholic Majesty should be the first Christian
" Prince that would receive an Ambassador from the
" odious, and execrable Murderers of a Christian
" King, his Brother and Ally ; which no other Prince
" had yet done, out of the detestation of that hor-
" rible Parricide : " and therefore they desired him ,
" that *Spain* would not give so infamous an example
" to the other parts of the world " *Don Lewis* assured
them , " that there was no such thing as an Ambaf-
" fador coming from *England* , nor had the King any
" purpose to receive any : that it was true, they
" were informed that there was an *English* Gentleman
" landed at *Cadiz*, and come to *Seville* ; who said, he
" was sent from the Parliament with Letters for the
" King ; which was testified by a Letter from *Don*
" *Alonzo de Cardinas* to the Duke of *Medina Celi* ; who
" thereupon had given Order for his entertainment
" at *Seville* , till the King should give further order :
" That it was not possible for the King to refuse to
" receive the Letter, or to see the Man who brought
" it ; who pretended no kind of Character : That
" having an Ambassador residing in *England* to pre-
" serve the Trade and Commerce between the two

“ Nations, they did believe, that this Messenger might
 “ be sent with some Propositions from the *English*
 “ Merchants for the advancement of that Trade, and
 “ if they should refuse to hear what he said, it might
 “ give a just offence, and destroy all the Commerce;
 “ which would be a great damage to both Nations.”

That this new Agent might come securely to *Madrid*, an old Officer of the Army was sent from *Seville* to accompany him thither; who came with him in the Coach, and gave notice every night to *Don Lewis* of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the *English* Merchants, many Officers and Soldiers in *Madrid*, who had served in the *Spanish* Armies, both in *Catalonia* and in *Portugal*; and these Men had consulted amongst themselves how they might kill this fellow, who came as an Agent from the new Republic of *England*; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the Town, which was generally discoursed of, rode out of the Town to meet him; but, missing him, they returned again, and found that he had entered into it by another way; and having taken a view of his lodging, they met again the next Morning; and finding, accidentally, one of the Ambassadors Servants in the streets, they persuaded him to go with them, and so went to the House where *Ascham* lodged; and, without asking any Questions, walked directly up the stairs into his Chamber, leaving a couple of their number at the door of the street, lest, upon any noise in the House, that door might be shut upon them. They who went up, drew their Swords; and besides their intentions, in disorder, killed the Friar as well

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Afcham killed
by some
Officers at his
Lodgings in
Madrid.

All but one fly
to a Chapel for
sanctuary; he,
to the Vene-
tian Ambaf-
fador's.

as the Agent; and so returned to their Companions with their Swords naked and bloody, and some foolish expressions of triumph, as if they had performed a very gallant and a justifiable Service. Notwithstanding all which, they might have dispersed themselves, and been secure, the People were so little concerned to inquire what they had done. But they being in confusion, and retaining no composed thoughts about them, finding the door of a little Chapel open, went in thither for sanctuary: Only he who was in Service of the Ambassadors, separated himself from the rest, and went into the House of the *Venetian* Ambassador. By this time the People of the House where the Man lay, had gone up into the Chamber; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the Bed; and the Magistrates and People were about the Church, and talking with, and examining the Persons who were there: and the Rumor was presently divulged about the Town, "that one of the *English* Ambassadors was killed."

They were at that time entering into their Coach to take the Air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were informed of what had passed, and that *Harry Progers*, who was their Servant, had been in the Action, and was retired to the House of the *Venetian* Ambassador, they were in trouble and perplexity; dismissed their Coach, and returned to their lodging. Though they abhorred the Action that was committed, they foresaw, the presence of one of their own Servants in it, and even some passionate words they had used, in

their expostulation with *Don Lewis*, against the reception of such a Messenger, as if “the King their Master
 “ had too many Subjects in that place, for such a fellow to appear there with any security,” would make it be believed by many, that the attempt had not been made without their consent or privity. In this trouble of mind, they immediately writ a Letter to *Don Lewis de Haro*, to express the sense they had of this unfortunaterash Action; “of which, they hoped,
 “ he did believe, if they had had any notice or suspicion, they would have prevented it.” *Don Lewis* returned them a very dry Answer; “That he could
 “ not imagine that they could have a hand in so foul
 “ an Assassination in the Court (for all *Madrid* is called, and looked upon as the Court) “of a Person
 “ under the immediate Protection of the King: however, that it was an Action so unheard of, and so
 “ dishonorable to the King, that his Majesty was
 “ resolved to have it examined to the bottom, and
 “ that exemplary Justice should be done upon the
 “ Offenders: that his own Ambassador in *England*
 “ might be in great danger upon this Murder; and
 “ that they would send an Express presently thither
 “ to satisfy the Parliament how much his Catholic
 “ Majesty detested, and was offended with it, and
 “ resolved to do Justice upon it; and if his Ambassador underwent any inconvenience There, they
 “ were not to wonder, if his Majesty were severe
 “ Here;” and so left it to Them to imagine that their own Persons might not be safe.

The Ambassadors write to *Don Lewis* about this action.

His Answer.

But they knew the temper of the Court too well, to have the least apprehension of that: yet they were

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Those that
fled to the
Chapel are
taken thence,
and impri-
soned; the
other escapes
into France.

a little surpris'd, when they first saw the Multitude of People, gathered together about their House, upon the first News of the Action; insomuch that the street before their House, which was the broadest in *Madrid* (the *Calle de Alcala*) was so thronged, that Men could hardly pass. But they were quickly out of that apprehension, being assured, that the jealousy that one of the *English* Ambassadors had suffered Violence, had brought that Multitude together; which they found to be true; for they no sooner showed themselves in a Balcony to the People, but they saluted them with great kindness, prayed for the King their Master, cursed and reviled the Murderers of his Father; and so departed. They who had betaken themselves to the Chapel, were, the next day or the second, taken from thence by a principal Officer after Examination, and sent to the Prison: the other was not inquired after; but, having concealed himself for ten or twelve days, he went out of the Town in the night; and, without any interruption or trouble, went into *France*.

Of all the Courts in Christendom *Madrid* is that where Ambassadors, and Public Ministers, receive the greatest Respect; which, besides the Honor and Punctuality of that People, bred up in the observation of distances and order, proceeds from the excellent method the Ambassadors have of living with mutual respect towards each other, and in mutual concernment for each others Honor and Privileges: so that, if any Ambassador, in Himself or his Servants, receive any Affront or Disrespect, all the other Ambassadors repair to him; and offer their Service, and Interposition;

fition; by which means they are not only preserved from any Invasion by any private and particular Insolence, but even from some Acts of Power, which the Court itself hath some time thought fit to exercise, upon an extraordinary occasion, towards a Minister of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the Character; and will not suffer that to be done towards one, which, by the consequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagined, with what a general compassion all the Ambassadors looked upon these unhappy Gentlemen, who had involved themselves by their rashness in so much peril. They came to the *English* Ambassadors to Advise, and Consult what might be done to preserve them, every one offering his Assistance. The Action could in no degree be justified; all that could be urged and insisted upon in their behalf, was the Privilege of Sanctuary, “They
“ had betaken themselves to the Church; and the
“ taking them from thence, by what Authority
“ soever, was a violation of the Rights and Immuni-
“ ties of the Church, which, by the Law of the King-
“ dom, was ever defended with all tenderness. So
“ that before the guilt of the Blood could be exa-
“ mined, the Prisoners desired that their Privilege
“ might be examined, and that they might have
“ Council assigned them to that purpose;” which was granted; and several Arguments were made upon the matter of Law before the Judges; who were favorable enough to the Prisoners. The King’s Council urged, “that in case of Assassination, the Privilege of
“ Sanctuary was never allowed” (which is true) and

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The Nuntio
Rospigliosi
required them
to be delivered
back.

cited many Precedents of late years in *Madrid* itself, where, for less Crimes than of Blood, Men had been taken out of the Sanctuary, and tried, and executed. The *English* Ambassadors thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new Republic should receive so much Countenance from that Court, as would have resulted from putting those Gentlemen to death as if they had killed a Public Minister. The Pope's Nuntio, *Julio Rospigliosi*, who was afterwards *Clement* the Ninth, could not, according to the Style of the Roman Court, either give or receive Visits from the *English* Ambassadors: but they performed Civilities to each other by Messages, and passed mutual Salutations, with all respect to each other, as they met abroad. And the *Venetian* Ambassadors brought them frequent assurances, "that the Nuntio had spoken very effectually to the King, and to *Don Lewis*, for the redelivery of the Prisoners to the Church, and pressed it so hard upon the Conscience of the King, that he had some promise that they should not suffer."

In the mean time, thundering Letters came from the Parliament, with great Menaces what they would do, if exemplary Justice was not inflicted upon those who had Murdered their Envoy; and *Don Alonzo* urged it, as if "he thought himself in danger till full satisfaction should be given in that particular; all which for the present made deep impression, so that they knew not what to do; the King often declaring "that he would not infringe the Privilege of the Church, and so undergo the censure of the Pope, for any advantage he could

“ receive with reference to any of his Dominions.” In the end (that the discourse of this Affair may not be resumed again hereafter) a long Imprisonment (for during the Ambassadors stay they would not bring them to any Trial, lest they might seem to do any thing upon their sollicitation) the Prisoners were proceeded against as soon, or shortly after the Ambassadors had left *Madrid*, and were all condemned to die; and as soon as the Sentence was declared, all the Prisoners were again delivered into the same Church; where they remained many days, having Provisions of Victuals sent to them by many Persons of Quality, until they had all opportunity to make their Escape, which was very successfully done by all but one; who, being the only Protestant amongst them, was more maliciously looked after and watched, and was followed, and apprehended after he had made three days Journey from *Madrid*, and carried back thither, and put to death: which was all the satisfaction the Parliament could obtain in that Affair; and is an instance, how far that People was from any Affection to those of *England* in their Hearts, how much soever they complied with them out of the necessity of their Fortune.

When some weeks were passed after that unlucky accident, the Ambassadors went to confer with *Don Lewis* upon some other occurrence, with no purpose of mentioning any thing of the Prisoners. *Don Lewis* spoke of it in a manner they did not expect, one expression was “ *Yo tengo invidia de estos Caballeros, &c.*” “ I envy those Gentlemen for having done so noble an Action, how penal soever it may prove to them, to revenge the Blood of their King.” Whereas, he

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said, "the King his Master wanted such resolute Subjects; otherwise he would never have lost a Kingdom, as he had done *Portugal*, for want of one brave Man; who, by taking away the Life of the Usurper, might at any time, during the first two years, have put an end to that Rebellion."

To return now to the Affairs of *Scotland*: whether when the Marquis of *Argyle* first knew that the King would venture himself into *Scotland*, he suspected his own strength, and so sent for his Friend *Cromwell* to assist him; or whether it seemed more reasonable to the Parliament, when it was assured of the King's being there, to Visit him in that Kingdom, than to expect a Visit from him, is not enough clear at this time.

Cromwell sent for by the Parliament out of Ireland, leaves Ireton his Deputy.

But as soon as the King was in *Scotland*, *Cromwell*, being sent for by the Parliament, left what remained to be done in *Ireland* to *Ireton* (who had Married his Daughter) and made him his Deputy; and Transported himself into *England*; where the Parliament, not without great opposition from all the Presbyterian Party, resolved to send an Army into *Scotland*. Many opposed it, as they thought it an unjust and unprofitable War, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and others, because it would keep up, and increase the Power and Authority of the Army in *England*; which was already found to be very grievous.

The Parliament resolved to send an Army into Scotland.

Fairfax gives up his Commission.

This Resolution produced another great Alteration: *Fairfax*, who had hitherto worn the name of General, declared positively that he would not Command the Army against *Scotland*. The Presbyterians said, "it was because he thought the War unlawful, in regard it was against those of the same Religion;"

but his Friends would have it believed, that he would not Fight against the King. Hereupon *Cromwell* was chosen General; which made no alteration in the Army; which he had modelled to his own mind before, and Commanded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced, and suppressed the Presbyterians in all places; who had been supported by *Fairfax*. The Independents had all Credit about him; and the Churches and Pulpits were open to all kind of People who would show their Gifts there; and a general distraction and confusion in Religion covered the whole Kingdom; which raised as general a discontent in the minds of the People, who finding no ease from the Burdens they had so long sustained, but an increase of the Taxes and Impositions every day, grew weary of their new Government; and heartily prayed, that their General might never return from *Scotland*, but that, he being destroyed there, the King might return Victorious into *London*. The bitterness and prosecution against their Brethren in *England*, and the old Animosity they had long borne against the Person of *Cromwell*, made those in Authority in that Kingdom resolve to defend themselves against his Invasion, and to draw together a very numerous Body of Men well provided, and supplied with all things necessary but Courage and Conduct. They were so careful in the modelling this Army, that they suffered few or no Officers, or Soldiers, who had been in the Engagement of Duke *Hamilton*, or who gave the least occasion to be suspected to wish well to the King or to the

The Scots
raise an Army
against him

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Hamiltonian Party, to be lifted or received into their Service. So that they had only some old discredited Officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of Command, had stuck close to *Argyle* and to the Party of the Kirk. The truth is, the whole Army was under the Government of a Committee of the Kirk and the State; in which the Ministers exercised the sole Authority, and prayed and peached against the Vices of the Court, and the Impiety and Tyranny of *Cromwell*, equally; and promised their Army Victory over the Enemy as positively, and in as confident terms, as if God himself had directed them to declare it. The King desired that he might Command this Army, at least run the Fortune of it. But they were hardly prevailed with to give him leave once to see it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the observation that the Common-Soldiers seemed to be much pleased to see him, they caused him to return, and the next day carried him to a place at a greater distance from the Army; declaring, “ that
 “ they found the Soldiers too much inclined to put
 “ their Confidence in the Arm of Flesh; whereas
 “ their hope and dependance was to be only in God
 “ and they were most assured of Victory by the
 “ Prayers, and Piety of the Kirk.

Cromwell
 enters Scot-
 land.

In *July* *Cromwell* entered *Scotland*, and marched without any opposition till he came within less than a day's Journey of *Edinburgh*; where he found the *Scottish* Army encamped upon a very advantageous ground; and he made his Quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with disadvantages enough. For the Country was so destroyed behind him, and

the Passes so guarded before, that he was compelled to send for all his Provision for Horse and Foot from *England* by Sea; insomuch as the Army was reduced to great straits; and the *Scots* really believed, that they had them all at their Mercy, except such as would embark on board their Ships. But as soon as *Cromwell* had recovered some Provisions, his Army begun to remove, and seemed to provide for their March. Whether that March was to retire out of so barren a Country for want of Provisions (which no doubt were very scarce; and the Season of the year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary Supplies by Sea, for it was now the Month of *September*) or whether that motion was only to draw the *Scots* from the advantageous post of which they were possessed, is not yet understood. But it was confessed on all sides, that, if the *Scots* had remained within their Trenches, and sent Parties of Horse to have followed the *English* Army closely, they must have so disordered them, that they would have left their Cannon, and all their heavy Carriages behind them, besides the danger the Foot must have been in. But the *Scots* did not intend to part with them so easily; they doubted not but to have the Spoil of the whole Army. And therefore they no sooner discerned that the *English* were upon their march, but they decamped, and followed with their whole Body all the Night following, and found themselves in the Morning within a small distance of the Enemy: for *Cromwell* was quickly advertised that the *Scottish* Army was dislodged, and marched after him; and thereupon he made a stand, and put his Men in good order.

The distress of
Cromwell's
Army.

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The *Scots* found they were not upon so clear a chase as they imagined, and placed themselves again upon such a side of a Hill, as they believed the *English* would not have the Courage to attack them there.

Cromwell
entirely routs
the Scots in
the Battle of
Dunbar.

But *Cromwell* knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, when there were no Trenches, or Fortifications to keep him from them; and therefore he made haste to charge them on all sides, upon what advantage-ground soever they stood. Their Horse did not sustain one Charge; but fled, and were pursued with a great execution. The Foot depended much upon their Ministers, who peached, and prayed, and assured them of the Victory, till the *English* were upon them; and some of their Preachers were knocked in the head, whilst they were promising the Victory. Though there was so little resistance made, that *Cromwell* lost very few Men by that day's Service, yet the Execution was very terrible upon the Enemy; the whole Body of the Foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing; so that there were between five and six thousand dead upon the place; and very few, but they who escaped by the heels of their Horse, were without terrible wounds; of which very many died shortly after; especially such of their Ministers who were not killed upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any Body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will. All the Cannon, Ammunition, Carriages and Baggage, were entirely taken, and *Cromwell* with his victorious Army marched directly

to *Edinburgh*; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreshing his Army; which stood in need of it.

Cromwell
enters *Edin-*
burgh.

Never Victory was attended with less lamentations: for as *Cromwell* had great argument of Triumph in the total Defeat and Destruction of the only Army that was in *Scotland*; which Defeat had put a great part of that Kingdom, and the chief City of it, under his Obedience; so the King, who was then at *St. Johnston's*, was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a Body of his Enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his Majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a Prison the next day; which had been only a stricter confinement than he suffered already: for the Lord *Lorne*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Argyle*, being Captain of his Guard, had so watchful a care of him both night and day, that his Majesty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this Defeat, they all looked upon the King as one they might stand in need of: they permitted his Servants, who had been sequestered from him from his Arrival in the Kingdom, to attend, and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a Parliament, and of a time for the King's Coronation; which had not hitherto been spoken of. Some Ministers begun to Preach obedience to the King; the Officers, who had been cashiered for their Malignity, talked aloud of "the miscarriages in the Government, and that the Kingdom was betrayed to the Enemy for want of confidence in the King, who alone could preserve the Nation." They of the Council seemed not to

The King
gets advan-
tage by this.

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have so absolute a dependance upon the Marquis of *Argyle*, but spoke more freely than they had used to do; and the Marquis applied himself more to the King, and to those about him: so that the King did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this Victory, as well as *Cromwell*, though his Majesty's advantage was discerned by a few Men only, and those reduced into an obscure quarter of the Kingdom; but the other made the *éclat*. The destruction of the only Army, and the possessing of *Edinburgh*, was looked upon, in all places, as the entire conquest of the whole Kingdom.

Don *Alonzo* made haste to send the News into *Spain* of the total and irrecoverable defeat of the King; “that he was driven into the High-lands; from
“whence he would he compelled to fly, as soon as
“he could get means to escape: that the Republic
“was now settled, and no more fear or hope of the
“King:” the effect of all which, the Ambassadors quickly found at *Madrid*, by the carriage and countenance of that King and the Council; though it cannot be denied that the Common-People appeared to have a much more generous sense of the Alteration, than the others did. The Ambassadors received shortly a full advertisement of the truth; and “that
“the King thought his condition much improved
“by the defeat;” and they used all the means they could, by several Audiences, to inform the King of *Spain* and Don *Lewis* of the truth; and “that they
“were misinformed, as if the Army overthrown was
“the King's; whereas they were indeed as much his
“Enemies, as *Cromwell's* was.” But in this they could

obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily wished they were gone; which they were resolved to take no notice of.

In the end, one morning, the Secretary of State came to them from the King; and told them, “that they had been now above a year in that Court, where they had been well treated, notwithstanding some miscarriages, which might very justly have incensed his Catholic Majesty” (mentioning the death of *Ascham*) “that they were Extraordinary Ambassadors, and so needed not any Letters of Revocation; that they had received Answers to all they had proposed, and were at liberty to depart; which his Catholic Majesty desired they would do, since their presence in the Court would be very prejudicial to his Affairs.” This unexpected and unusual Message, delivered ungracefully enough by an old Man, who, notwithstanding his Office, was looked upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe “that he had mistaken his Message, at least that he had delivered it with less Courtly circumstances than he ought to have done.” And therefore they returned no other Answer, than “that they would attend *Don Lewis de Haro*, and understand from Him the King’s pleasure.” The next day, they sent for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; whom they found with a less open Countenance than he used to have; nor did he appear any thing more Courtly than the Secretary had done; but told them, that there were Orders sent to such a Person (whom he named) to prepare their present; which should be ready within very few days; and

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The Secretary of State brings a message from the King of Spain to the Ambassadors to desire them to be gone.

They apply to Don Lewis.

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The reason of
their being
prest to depart
Madrid in
such haste.

pressed them very plainly, and without any regard to the season of the year, it being then towards the end of *January*, to use all possible expedition for their departure, as a thing that, even in that respect, did exceedingly concern the service of the King. This made the Ambassadors imagine, which was likewise reported, that there was a formal Ambassador upon his way from *England*, and that the Court would be no more liable to the like Accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cause of all this haste was, that they might bring into the Town as many Pictures, and other choice and rich Furniture, as did load eighteen Mules; which, as was said before, *Don Alonzo* had bought of the King's goods, and then sent to the *Groyne*, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the Palace, whilst the Ambassadors should continue and remain in the Town.

This injunction to leave *Madrid*, in so unseasonable a time of the year, was very severe to the Ambassadors. The Lord *Cottington* was at this time seventy-six years of Age, once or twice in a year troubled with the Gout, in other respects of great vigor of Body and Mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had resolved, when he first proposed this Embassy to the King, and, it may be, it was the chief reason of proposing it, that, if there should be no door open to let him return into *England*, by the time that his Embassy should expire, he would remain and die in *Spain*. But he did then believe, that he should have found another kind of Entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt, deserved very well from that Nation,

having always performed those Offices towards them which made him looked upon at home as too well affected to that People, which, together with his constant opposition of the *French*, had rendered him very ungracious to the Queen: yet there were some seasons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they desired, and expected; as when their Fleet, under the command of *Oquendo*, about the year 1639, had been assaulted in the *Downs*, and defeated by the *Dutch* Fleet, for want of that Protection which they thought the King might have given to them. And it is probable their Ambassadors, who were then in *England*, whereof *Don Alonzo* was one, did not find that readiness and alacrity in him to appear in their service, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being solicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do Himself harm, and could do Them no good. But these Omissions were now remembered, and all his services forgotten: so that (as hath been touched before) his reception, from the first hour of his coming last thither, was very cold both from the King and the Court. And though he was now willing to resume his former resolution of staying there; yet the treatment he had received, and this last farewell, made him doubt, very reasonably, whether he should be permitted to stay there or not.

There was another circumstance, which was necessary to his residing in *Spain*, in which he met with some difficulties that he had not foreseen; and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough discerned, and knew to be the true cause of

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from the time that he meant to remain and die in *Spain*, that he would become a *Roman Catholic* again, which he thought to be a much easier thing than it was; and that he might have been reconciled by any Priest in as private a manner as he could desire. But when he consulted that affair with a Jesuit, who frequently came to the House, he found, that after an Apostacy, as they termed it, it was not in the power of any Priest to reconcile him, but that it was reserved to the Pope himself; who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own Nuntios. This obliged him to resort thither; which he could not easily do without communicating it to the other Ambassador; towards whom this was the only secret he reserved. And he found a way, as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, several days, that the Nuntio had sent him such and such Messages by that Jesuit concerning those Gentlemen who were in Prison, the substance whereof did not differ from what the *Venetian* Ambassador had formerly delivered from him: at last, he told him, “that he found
“the Nuntio had somewhat to say in that Affair
“which he would not communicate by Message,
“but wished to speak with him in private; for publicly he must not be known to have any conference with him; and that hereupon he resolved to
“go *incognito* in Sir *Benjamin Wright’s* Coach to
“him:” which he did, and was then reconciled; and returned home making such a relation of their conference to his Companion as he thought fit; and delivered the Nuntio’s salutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the Affair was: for,

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besides that the Nuntio could not perform the Office alone, but was to have the assistance of two or three so qualified, there was really care taken that the other Ambassador might know it. And, before that time, when they both visited the President *de la Hazienda*, who carried them into his Library, whilst the other Ambassador was casting his Eyes upon some Books (it being the best private Library in *Madrid*) the Lord *Cottington* told the President, “that he was himself a Catholic, but that his Companion was an obstinate Heretic;” of which the President sent him information the next day. But since himself forbore ever to Communicate this secret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give some disturbance to his resolution, he likewise took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their parting.

The Lord
Cottington
resolves to
stay as a pri-
vate Man
in Spain.

This difficulty being over, there remained yet another; which was, his having permission to stay in that Country; for which he addressed himself to *Don Lewis*; “mentioned his Age; his infirmity of the Gout; which would infallibly seize upon him, if, in that season of the year, he should provoke it by an extraordinary Motion; in a word, that it was impossible for him to make the Journey.” *Don Lewis* told him, “he could answer him to part of what he said without speaking to the King; that he must not think of staying with the Character of an Ambassador, nor of residing in *Madrid*, in how private a condition soever; if he desired any thing with these two restraints, he would move the King in it.” The other told him, “that he submitted to both

“ both these conditions; and only desired Licence
 “ to reside in *Valladolid*, where he had lived many
 “ years, when the Court remained there, in the time
 “ of King *Philip* the third.”

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This place was not disliked; and within few days, *Don Lewis* sent him word “ that the King approved
 “ it; and that he should have a Letter to the chief
 “ Magistrate there, to treat him with all respect; and
 “ that his Majesty would take care that he should
 “ not undergo any distress, but would supply him
 “ as his necessities required.” And, shortly after, a
 Message was sent to the Ambassadors to let them
 know, that the King had appointed such a day for
 to give them an Audience to take their leave. This
 new importunity was as extraordinary as the former;
 however, they performed their Ceremonies; and
 about the beginning of *March*, after they had been
 in that Court near fifteen Months, they both left
Madrid in the same hour: the Lord *Cottington* taking
 his Course for *Valladolid*; where he had the same
 House provided, and made ready for him by the care
 of the *English* Jesuits there, in which he had dwelt at
 the time of his Agency, when the Court resided
 there; where he died within one year after, in the
 77th year of his Age.

The Amba-
sadors have
Audience of
leave.

The Lord
Cottington
lives at
Valladolid
till he dies.

He was a very wise man, by the great and long
 experience he had in business of all kinds; and by
 his natural temper, which was not liable to any trans-
 port of Anger, or any other passion, but could bear
 contradiction, and even reproach, without being
 moved, or put out of his way: for he was very steady
 in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a

His Characte

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courage not to be frightened with any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the Grammar of any Language, or the principles of any Science, but by his perfectly understanding the *Spanish* (which he spoke as a *Spaniard*) the *French*, and *Italian* Languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of Learning, Divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the Nature of Beasts and Birds, and above all in all kind of Plantations and Arts of Husbandry. He was born a Gentleman both by Father and Mother, his Father having a pretty entire Seat near *Bruton* in *Somersetshire*, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from Father to Son for many hundred years, and is still in the possession of his Elder Brother's Children, the Family having been always Roman-Catholic. His Mother was a *Stafford*, nearly allied to Sir *Edward Stafford*; who was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth*, and had been Ambassador in *France*; by whom this Gentleman was brought up, and was Gentleman of his Horse, and left one of his Executors of his Will, and by him recommended to Sir *Robert Cecil*, then Principal Secretary of State; who preferred him to Sir *Charles Conwallis*, when he went Ambassador into *Spain*, in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*; where he remained, for the space of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of Secretary or Agent, without ever returning into *England* in all that time. He raised by his own Virtue and Industry a very fair Estate, of which, though the Revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year; yet

he had four very good Houses, and three Parks, the value whereof was not reckoned into that computation. He lived very Nobly, well served, and attended in his House; had a better Stable of Horses, better provision for Sports (especially of Hawks, in which he took great delight) than most of his Quality, and lived always with great splendor; for though he loved Money very well, and did not warily enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humor, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, covered the most of mirth, and caused more, than any Man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any Body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make Men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender Affections, nor Bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserved compassion. He was heartily weary of the world, and no Man was more willing to die; which is an Argument that he had peace of Conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his Parts, than love to his Person.

The other Ambassador was dismissed with much more Courtesy for when they heard that his Family remained at *Antwerp* in *Flanders*, and that he intended to go thither, and stay there till he received other Orders from the King his Master, they gave him all despatches thither which might be of use to him in those Parts. The King of *Spain* himself used many gracious Expressions to him at his last Audience, and

The other
Ambassador
dismissed very
courteously.

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sent afterwards to him a Letter for the Arch-Duke *Leopold*; in which he expressed the good opinion he had of the Ambassador; and commanded "that, " whilst he should chuse to reside in those Parts, " under his Government, he should receive all Respect, and enjoy all Privileges as an Ambassador:" and *Don Lewis de Haro* writ likewise to the Arch-Duke, and the Count of *Fuensaldagna*, "to look " upon him as His particular Friend:" all which Ceremonies, though they cost them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the Ambassador: for besides the Treatment he received from the Arch-Duke himself in *Brussels*, as Ambassador, such directions, or recommendations, were sent to the Magistrates at *Antwerp*, that he enjoyed the privilege of his Chapel, and all the *English*, who were numerous then in that City, repaired thither with all freedom for their Devotion, and the exercise of their Religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any Man there, and which the *English*, and *Irish* Priests, and the Roman-Catholics of those Nations, exceedingly murmured at, and used all the Endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

In his passage
through
France he
waits on the
Queen Mother.

In his passage through *France* he waited upon the Queen-Mother, who received him very graciously; and he found there, that the success which *Cromwell* had obtained in *Scotland* (though the King was still there, and in a better condition than before) had the same effect in the Court of *Spain*; it gave over all thoughts of the King, as in a condition not only deplorable, but as absolutely desperate.

There had, a little before, fallen out an accident

that troubled *France* very much, and no less pleased *Spain*; which was the death of the Prince of *Orange*; a young Prince of great hope and expectation, and of a Spirit that desired to be in Action. He had found, that the Peace between *Spain* and the Low-Countries, which his Father had been so solicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preserve him in equal lustre to what the three former Princes had enjoyed; and therefore he wished nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offered to enter upon the War. He complained loudly, that the Court of *Spain* had not observed, nor performed, many of those Conditions which it was obliged to do for the particular benefit of him, and his family: whereby he continued involved in many debts, which were uneasy to him; and so, upon all occasions which fell out, he adhered to that Party in the States which were known most to favor the Interest of *France*; which inclination the Cardinal, and the other Ministers of that Crown, used all possible care and endeavour to cultivate: and *Spain* was so much affected with the apprehension of the consequence of that Alteration, and with the Conscience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they resolved to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if possible, to them. To this purpose, a very great present was prepared at *Madrid* to be sent to him, ten brave *Spanish* Horses, the worst of which cost there three hundred pounds Sterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewise a present of Plate, Jewels, and perfumed Leather, to the Princess Royal his Wife; and a full

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The Death
of the Prince
of Orange.

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assurance, "that they would forthwith begin to perform all the Articles which were to be done by them, and finish all within a short time."

The Exprefs, who was appointed to accompany the present, and to perform the other functions, was to begin his Journey within two days, when the News arrived, by an Exprefs from *Brussels*, who came in as short a time as could be imagined, that the Prince of *Orange* was dead of the small Pox, and had left the Princess with Child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a Son within few days after his decease. The Court at *Madrid* could not conceal its joy, nor dissemble their opinion, that the Enemy whose influence they most apprehended, was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, *France* owned a great sorrow and grief for the loss of a Man whom they believed to be more than ordinarily affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their Friends in *Holland*, might, in a short time, be much superior to that Party in the States which adhered to the *Spanish* Interest.

His Princess
delivered of
a Son shortly
after.

But no Body received so insupportable prejudice, and damage, by this fatal blow, as the King of Great *Britain* did; towards whom that brave Prince gave all the testimony and manifestation of the most entire, fast, and unshaken Affection and Friendship, that hath ever been performed towards any Person under any signal Misfortune. Besides the assisting him upon several emergent occasions, with greater Sums of Money than were easy to his incumbered Fortune, his Reputation, and his declared Resolution, "that he would venture all he had in that Quarrel," disposed

The King
lost a sure
Friend in the
Prince.

many to be more concerned for his Majesty. Though he could not prevail over that Faction in *Holland*, which were known to favor *Cromwell* (and the more out of their aversion to him, and to his Power and Greatness) to induce them to serve the King, yet he kept the States-General from consenting to that infamous Alliance and Conjunction, which, shortly after his death, they entered into with the new Republic; and which they would never have yielded to, if He had lived. And, no doubt, the respect both *France* and *Spain* had for Him, and his Interposition, had prevailed with both to be more restrained than they afterwards appeared to be, in a total declining all consideration of the King, and rejecting all thoughts of his Restoration. It contributed very much to the negligent Farewel the Ambassadors had received in *Spain*: for the news of the Prince's death had arrived there some time before their departure; and it did not only extinguish all imaginations in *France* of any possible hope for our King, but very much lessened the Respect, and Civility, which that Court had always showed to the Queen herself, as a Daughter of *France*; towards whom they expressed not that regard they had formerly done.

But there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the Queen more trouble than this; and of which her Majesty made great complaint to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at his return from *Spain*. Upon the Interview which had been between the King and the Queen at *Beauvais*, when the King went for *Holland*, upon the foresight, if not the resolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own Person into

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Touching the
Duke of York
left with the
Queen.

Scotland, he had left his Brother the Duke of *York* with the Queen, with direction "that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the Queen his Mother, matters of Religion only excepted." And there was the less doubt of his conformity to her Commands, because, besides his Piety and Duty, which was very entire towards her, he was to depend wholly upon her Bounty for his Support; the Court of *France* not taking any notice of this increase of her expense, nor paying her own narrow assignation with any punctuality; so that she was not able, besides the reservedness in her Nature, so to supply him as to make his Condition pleasant to him; but exercised the same Austere Carriage towards him, which she had done to the Prince his Brother, and as unsuccessfully. The Duke was very young, with a numerous Family of his own, not well enough inclined to be contented, and consisting of Persons who loved not one another, nor their Master well enough to consider him before themselves: which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that Credit with him, that, at such an Age, some good Men ought to have had: which proceeded from want of reasonable providence and circumspection. For when he made his Escape out of *England* (as is mentioned before) he had only one Person attending him (who had, before, no relation or pretence to his Service) whose merit might have been otherwise requited, than by giving him a title and dependance upon him; and he quickly appeared to be so unworthy of it, that he was removed from it. Then was the time that such Persons should have

been placed about him, as might have both discovered such infirmities, as his Nature might incline him to, and have infused those Principles of Virtue, and Honor, as he was most capable of, and disposed to; and which had been as proper for his present Misfortune, as for his highest Dignity. But that Province was wholly committed to the Queen his Mother by the late King, who was then in Prison; and her Majesty being then at *Paris*, when the Duke landed in *Holland*, she could not deliberate so long upon it as such a subject required; and so was persuaded by others to consider Them more than her Son; and made haste to put such a family about him, with reference to the number, and to the Offices which they were designed to serve in, as was above the greatness to which the younger Son of the Crown of *England* could pretend, by the Usage and Custom of that Kingdom, when it was in the greatest Splendor; and all this, when there was not in view the least Revenue to Support it, but that the whole Charge and Burden of it must inevitably fall upon Her; of which her Majesty was quickly sensible, and paid the penalty at least in the peace and quiet of her mind.

The Duke was full of Spirit and Courage, and naturally loved designs, and desired to engage himself in some Action that might improve and advance the low Condition of the King his Brother; towards whom he had an inviolable Affection and Fidelity, superior to any Temptation. He was not pleased with the Treatment he received in *France*, nor had confidence enough in any of his Servants, to be ad-

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vised by them towards the contriving any expedient that he might reasonably dispose himself to, or to be dissuaded from any Enterprize which his own passion might suggest to him; though too many had too much Credit with him in contributing to his discontents, and in representing the uncomfortableness of his own Condition to him; “the little regard the
“ Queen appeared to have of him, the lustre that
“ some of her Servants lived in, and those who de-
“ pended upon them, whilst his Royal Highness
“ wanted all that was necessary, and his Servants were
“ exposed to the most scandalous necessities and con-
“ tempt;” which suggestions, by degrees, began to abate that reverence in him to the Queen his Mother, to which he was very dutifully inclined.

Sir Edward
Herbert and
Sir G. Ratcliff
have great
interest in him.

There were at that time two Persons, who, though without any relation to the Court, very much frequented the Duke's lodgings, and had frequent discourses with him, Sir *Edward Herbert*, the late King's Attorney-General (of whom much is said before) and Sir *George Ratcliff*, who had been designed by that King to attend upon the Duke of *York* into *Ireland*, when he once thought of sending him thither. But that design being quickly laid aside, there was no more thought of using his Service there. The Duke looked upon them both as wise Men, and fit to give him advice; and finding that they both applied themselves to him with diligence, and address, he communicated his thoughts more freely to Them than to any others. And they took pains to persuade him to dislike the Condition he was in, and that he might spend his time more to his advantage in some other

place than in *France*. They spoke often to him of the Duke of *Lorraine*, “as a pattern and example for all
 “unfortunate Princes to follow: that he being, by
 “the power and injustice of the King of *France*,
 “driven out of his Principality and Dominions, had,
 “by his own Virtue and Activity, put himself in the
 “head of an Army; by which he made himself so
 “considerable, that he was Courted by both the
 “Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, and might make his
 “Conditions with either according to his own elec-
 “tion; and in the mean time lived with great Repu-
 “tation, and in great Plenty, esteemed by all the
 “World for his Courage and Conduct.” With these,
 and the like discourses, the Duke was much pleased,
 and amused, and wished in himself that he could be
 put into such a Condition, when in truth there could
 not a more improper Example have been proposed
 to him, whose Condition was more unlike his, or
 whose Fortune and Manners he was less to wish to
 follow, or less able to imitate. For the Duke of *Lor-*
raine had for many years before his Misfortunes, had
 a great name in War, and was looked upon as one of
 the greatest Captains of *Christendom*; and had drawn
 the Arms, and Power of *France* upon him, by his
 inconstancy, and adhering to *Spain*, contrary to his
 Treaty and obligation with the other Crown; and
 when he was driven out of his own Country, and not
 able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good
 Army, and possessed of great Wealth, which he carried
 with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he
 well knew, into *Flanders*, both as his Misfortune
 proceeded from his Affection to their King, and as his

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mend to him
the pattern
of the Duke
of Lorraine.The Duke of
Lorraine's
Character.

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Forces were necessary for their defence. And so he made such Conditions with them, as were most beneficial to himself, and yet, in the consequence, so unsuccessful, as might well terrify all other Princes from treading in the same footsteps.

The King
believed in
France to be
dead.

With the report of the defeat of that Army by *Cromwell* in *Scotland* (which was the first good fortune to the King) or shortly after, some Letters from *England* brought Intelligence, without any ground, that the King was dangerously Sick; and shortly after, that he was Dead; which was believed in *England*, and from thence transmitted into *France*. This gave a new Alarm to those two Gentlemen mentioned before, who received this information from such Friends in *England*, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new King to be found in: and therefore that it would be necessary for him to remove from thence, before the report should be confirmed, and believed.

The Duke of
York acquaints
his Mother that
he will go to
Brussels;
whither he
goes.

Whether they imparted this nice consideration to the Duke or not, his Highness, without any Preface of the Motives, told the Queen, "he was resolved to make a Journey to *Brussels*;" who, being exceedingly surprised, asked him the reason; and "how he could be able to make such a Journey:" which she in truth believed impossible for him, since she knew he had no Money. His Answer in short was, "that he would visit the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had been always a Friend to his Father, and continued his Affection to the King his Brother; and he had some reason to believe, that Duke would enable him to

“ appear in action, that might be for his Majesty’s
“ service; and that he was resolved to begin his Jour-
“ ney the next day;” from which, neither the Queen’s
advice, nor Authority, could divert him. Her Ma-
jesty quickly discerned, that neither the Lord *Byron*,
nor Sir *John Berkeley*, nor Mr. *Bennet*, his Secretary
knew any thing of it; and therefore easily concluded
who the Counsellors were; who were both very
ungracious to her, and she had long done all she could
to lessen the Duke’s esteem of them. They well fore-
saw that the want of Money would be of that force,
that, without any other difficulty, the Journey would
be rendered impossible. They had therefore, upon
their own credit, or out of their own store, procured
as much as would defray the Journey to *Brussels*;
which, by the Duke’s directions, was put into the
hands of Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and to be managed by
his providence and discretion. And then he publicly
declared his resolution to begin his Journey the next
day for *Brussels*, leaving his Servants to make what
shift they could to stay there or follow him.

Since there was no remedy, the Queen thought it
necessary that his chief Servants should wait on him,
that she might receive an Account what progress he
made, and what his design could be: so the Lord
Byron, and Mr. *Bennet*, made themselves ready for
the Journey; Sir *John Berkeley* chusing to stay behind,
that he might not appear inferior where he had exer-
cised the supreme Charge. And so, with the other
two Counsellors, and many of the inferior Servants,
the Duke, according to his resolution, left the Queen;
and, when he came to *Brussels*, he lodged at the

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His two Coun-
sellors propose
a Match for
him with the
Duke of
Lorraine's
Bastard-
Daughter.

House of Sir *Henry de Vic* the King's Resident, without being taken notice of by any of that Court. There the two Counsellors begun to form his Family, and to confer Offices upon those who were most acceptable to them; presuming that they should shortly receive News from *England*, which would confirm all that they had done under other Titles. In the meantime the Government of the House, and ordering the expense, was committed wholly to Sir *George Ratcliff*, whilst the other contented himself with presiding in the Councils, and directing all the politic designs. The Duke of *Lorraine* had visited the Duke upon his first Arrival, and being informed of the straits his Royal Highness was in, presented him with one thousand Pistoles. But now the secret ground of all their Counsels, was found to be without any reality: the King was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an Army that looked *Cromwell* in the Face; which destroyed all the Machine they had raised: yet, being too far Embarked to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the Duke of *Lorraine* had showed towards the Duke, they had the presumption to propose that there might be a Marriage between the Duke of *York* and the Daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine* by the Countess of *Canteeroy*; whom he had publicly Married, but which Marriage was declared at *Rome* to be void, by reason that his former Wife was still alive.

When the Duke of *Lorraine* saw how the Affairs of this young Prince were conducted, and that the Lord *Byron*, and Mr. *Bennet*, who were Men well

bred, and able to have discoursed any business to him, one whereof was his Governor and the other his Secretary, who by their Offices ought to be more trusted in an Affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two Persons, who were Men of a very unusual mien, appeared in it, and that only Sir *George Ratcliff* undertook to speak to him about it, who could only make himself understood in *Latin*, which the Duke cared not to speak in, he declined entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the King's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but "that he did not doubt it would be afterwards approved by his Majesty." Thus they were at the end of their projects; and there being no means to stay longer at *Brussels*, they persuaded the Duke to visit his Sister at the *Hague*, and there to consider, and advise what was next to be done.

The Duke
visits his Sister
at the Hague.

Of all these particulars the Queen complained to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with great bitterness against the folly and presumption of those two Gentlemen, whose fidelity to the King she did not suspect; nor could she imagine the motive that had engaged them in such a bold undertaking; but she required him, "that, as soon as he should come into *Flanders*, he would make a Journey to the *Hague*, and prevail with the Duke (to whom she writ to the same purpose) "to return again to *Paris*;" which the Chancellor promised to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general discourse, which that Sally administered, as if there were a Schism in the Royal Family in a season when so much union was requisite.

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Dr. Cosins forbidden to officiate to the Protestants in the Queen's Family at Paris.

There was another instance of the King's extreme low condition, and of the highest disrespect the Court of *France* could express towards him, and of which all the Protestant Party of the Queen's Family complained very vehemently. From the time of the Queen's being in *France*, the late King had appointed a Chaplain of his own, Dr. *Cosins*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Durham*, to attend upon her Majesty for the constant service of that part of her Household, the number of her Protestant Servants being much superior to those who were Roman-Catholics. And the Queen had always punctually complied with the King's directions, and used the Chaplain very graciously, and assigned him a competent support with the rest of her Servants. An under-Room in the *Louvre*, out of any common passage, had been assigned for their Morning and Evening-Devotions; the Key whereof was committed to the Chaplain; who caused the Room to be decently furnished, and kept; being made use of to no other purpose. Here, when the Prince first came thither, and afterwards, whilst he stayed, he performed his Devotions all the Week, but went *Sundays* still to the Resident's House to hear Sermons. At this time an Order was sent from the Queen-Regent, "that that Room should be no more applied to that purpose, and that the *French* King would not permit the Exercise of any other Religion in any of his Houses than the Roman-Catholic:" and the Queen gave notice to the Chaplain, "that she was no longer able to continue the payment of the Exhibition she had formerly assigned to him." The Protestants, whereof many were

were of the best Quality, lamented this Alteration to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and desired him to intercede with the Queen, which he had the more title to do, because, at his going into *Spain*, she had vouchsafed to promise him (upon some Rumors, of which he took notice) “that the same Privilege which had been, should still be continued, and enjoyed by the Protestants of her Household; and that she would provide for the Chaplain’s Subsistence.” He presumed therefore to speak with her Majesty upon it; and besought her to consider, “what ill impression this new Order would make upon the Protestants of all the King’s Dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to depend for his Restoration; and how much prejudice it might be to herself, to be looked upon as a greater Enemy to Protestants, than she had been taken notice of to be; and likewise, whether this Order, which had been given since the departure of the Duke of *York*, might not be made use of as an excuse for his not returning, or indeed for his going away at first, since the precise time when it issued, would not be generally understood.” The Queen heard him very graciously, and acknowledged “that what he said had reason in it; but protested that she knew not what remedy to apply to it; that she had been herself surprised with that Order, and was troubled at it; but that the Queen-Regent was positive in it, and blamed her for want of Zeal in her Religion; and that she cared not to advance it, or to convert any of her Children.” She wished him “to confer with Mr. *Mountague* upon it;” and implied, “that

The Chancellor speaks with the Queen about it.

The Queen’s Answer.

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“ His bigotry in his new Religion, had contributed
 “ much to the procuring that Order.” He had newly
 taken Orders, and was become Priest in that Church,
 and had great power with the Queen-Regent, as well
 for his Animosity against that Religion he Had pro-
 fessed, as for his vehement Zeal for the Church
 of which he now was. Upon this occasion, her
 Majesty expressed a great sense of the loss she had sus-
 tained by the death of her old Confessor, Father *Phil-*
lips; who, she said, “ was a prudent and discreet
 “ Man; and would never suffer her to be pressed to
 “ any passionate undertakings, under pretence of
 “ doing good for Catholics; and always told her,
 “ that, as she ought to continue firm and constant to
 “ her own Religion, so she was to live well towards
 “ the Protestants, who deserved well from her, and
 “ to whom she was beholding. She said, it would not
 “ be possible to have the same or any other Room
 “ set aside, or allowed to be used as a Chapel; but
 “ that she would take such course, that the Family
 “ might meet for the Exercise of their Devotion in
 “ some private Room that belonged to their Lodg-
 “ ings: and that though her own Exhibition was so
 “ ill paid, that she was indebted to all her Servants,
 “ yet she would give Order that Doctor *Cosins*,
 “ (against whom she had some personal exceptions)
 “ should receive his Salary, in proportion with the
 “ rest of her Servants.” She bid him “ assure the Duke
 “ of *York*, that he should have a free Exercise of his
 “ Religion, as he had before, though it must not be
 “ in the same place.”

The Chancellor,

The Chancellor conferred with Mr. *Mountague*

upon the Subject; and offered the same reasons which he had done to the Queen; which he looked upon as of no moment; but said, "that the King of *France* was Master in his own House, and he was resolved, though the King of *England* himself should come thither again, never to permit any solemn exercise of the Protestant Religion in any House of his."

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lor confers
with Mr.
Mountague
about it.

The consideration of what the Protestants in *England* might think on this occasion, was of least moment to him; and it was indeed the Common discourse there, "that the Protestants of the Church of *England* could never do the King Service, but that all his hopes must be in the Roman-Catholics, and the Presbyterians; and that he ought to give all satisfaction to both those Parties."

When the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to *Antwerp*, with a purpose to make a Journey speedily to the *Hague*, he was informed, "that the States were much offended that the Duke of *York* remained there; and therefore that the Princess Royal" (who now more depended upon their favor than ever; her own Jointure, as well as the fortune of her Son, being to be settled in their Judicatory) "could no longer entertain him, but that he would be the next day at *Breda*."

Thither the Chancellor immediately went; and found the Duke there with a Family in all the confusion imaginable, in present want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be done next. They all censured and reproached the Counsel by which they had been guided, and the Counsellors as bitterly inveighed against each other, for undertaking many things which had no foundation in truth. They

The Chancellor finds the Duke of York at Breda; and the factions of the Duke's family there.

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who concurred in nothing else, were equally severe against the Attorney, as a Man of that intolerable pride that it was not possible for any Man to converse with him. He as frankly reproached them all with being Men of no parts, of no understanding, nor learning, no principles, and no resolution, and was so just to them all, as to condemn every Man of them alike. In truth he had rendered himself so grievous to them all, that there was no Man who desired to be in his Company; yet, by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason without being it, he retained still too much credit with the Duke; who, being amused and confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easily understood; and was himself so young, that he was rather delighted with the Journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not entered upon them with reason enough; and was fortified with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the Queen's Letter, which the Chancellor delivered to him; heard his advice very willingly, and resolved to begin his Journey to *Paris* without any delay; and looked upon the occasion, as a very seasonable redemption. The next day he went to *Antwerp*; and from thence, with the same retinue he had carried with him, made haste to *Paris*, and was received by the Queen his Mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those, who, she thought, had had the credit and power to seduce him; and they were

The Duke
returns to
Paris to the
Queen.

not solicitous, by any Apologies or Confession, to recover her favor: for the true reason that had swayed them being not to be avowed, any other that they could devise and suggest, would have rendered them more inexcusable.

During this time, the King underwent all kind of Mortifications in *Scotland*. But after the defeat of the *Scottish* Army in *September*, with which the King and *Cromwell* were equally delighted, as hath been said before, the Marquis of *Argyle's* Empire seemed not to be so absolute. A new Army was appointed to be raised; the King himself interposed more than he had done; and the Noblemen and Officers came to him with more Confidence; and his Majesty took upon him to complain and expostulate, when those things were done which he did not like: Yet the Power was still in *Argyle's* hands; who, under all the professions of Humility, exercised still the same Tyranny; inso-much as the King grew weary of his own Patience, and resolved to make some attempt to free himself. Dr. *Frazier*, who had been the King's Physician many years before, and had constantly attended upon his Person, and very much contributed to the King's Journey into *Scotland*, was, shortly after his coming thither, disliked by *Argyle*; who knew that he was a Creature of the *Hamiltonians*, and found him to be of an unquiet and over-active Spirit; and thereupon sequestered him from his Attendance. There were many Officers who had served in Duke *Hamilton's* Engagement, as *Middleton*, and others, who had very entire Affections for the King; and many of them had corresponded with *Mountrose*, and resolved to have

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The King's
affairs in
Scotland.

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joined with him; and finding themselves excluded, as all of them were, from any Employment by the Power of *Argyle*, had retired into the High-lands, and remained there concealed in expectation of some good Season, in which they might avowedly appear. With some of these Dr. *Frazier* had held correspondence whilst he was in the Court, and had often spoken to the King of their Affection, and readiness to serve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his Majesty's gracious Acceptation of their Service, and his Resolution to employ them. And now not being himself suffered to come to the Court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them; and held Intelligence with the Lord *Lautherdale*, who had always great confidence in him; and the Officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the Doctor understanding them to undertake more than they did (for his Fidelity was never suspected) he gave the King such an Account of their Numbers, as well as Resolutions, that his Majesty appointed a day for their Rendezvous, and promised to be present with them, and then to publish a Declaration (which was likewise prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and against the Person of *Argyle*; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* gave himself wholly up, and imparted to him all this correspondence, having found some of the Letters which had passed, by the King's having left his Cabinet open; for he was not at all trusted in it.

The King
withdraws
towards the
High-lands;

But *Argyle* did not think the time so near; so that the King did prosecute this purpose so far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty Horse, into the High-lands, and lodged there one night; neither

the Marquis of *Argyle*, nor any Body else, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great distraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared design, contrived and conducted by Dr. *Frazier*, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruined the King. It was afterwards called the *Start*; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of Wise Men, very much to his Majesty's advantage. For though he was compelled the next day to return, with a circumstance that seemed to have somewhat of force in it (for as the Company he looked for failed to appear, so there was a Troop of Horse, which he looked not for, sent by *Argyle*, who used very effectual instance with him to return) yet notwithstanding, this Declaration of his Majesty's resentment, together with the observation of what the People generally spoke upon it, "that the King was not treated as he ought to be," made the Marquis of *Argyle* change his Counsels, and to be more solicitous to satisfy the King. A Summons was sent out, in the King's name, to call a Parliament; and great preparations were really made for the Coronation; and the Season of the year, against which *Cromwell* was securing himself in *Edinburgh*, and making Provisions for his Army, the Winter coming on, and the strong Passes which were easy then to be guarded, hindered the Enemies advance: so that the King resided, sometimes at *Sterling*, and sometimes at *St. Johnston's*, with convenience enough. The Parliament met at *Sterling*, and shortly after brought all the Lords of the other Party thither, who appeared to have credit enough to wipe off those stains with

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which was
called the
Start.

But is persuaded
to return
the next day.

The King
better used
afterwards by
Argyle.

A Parliament
summoned
in the King's
name.

It meets at
Sterling, and
reconciles the
Lords.

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which the Engagement had defaced them, yet with submission to stand publicly in the Stool of Repentance, acknowledging their former Transgressions; as they all did.

Duke *Hamilton* and *Lautherdale* were welcome to the King, and nearest his Confidence; which neither the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had cast off their Friendship as unuseful, nor the Marquis of *Argyle*, were pleased with. The King himself grew very Popular, and, by his frequent conferences with the Knights and Burgeſſes, got any thing passed in the Parliament which he desired. He caused many infamous Acts to be repealed, and provided for the raising an Army, whereof himself was General; and no exceptions were taken to those Officers who had formerly served the King his Father.

An Army
raised, of
which the King
is General.

The Corona-
tion.

The Coronation was passed with great Solemnity and Magnificence, all Men making show of Joy, and of being united to serve his Majesty: yet the Marquis of *Argyle* preserved his greatness and interest so well, and was still so considerable, that it was thought very expedient to raise an imagination in him, that the King had a purpose to Marry one of his Daughters; which was carried so far, that the King could no otherwise defend himself from it, than by sending an Express into *France* for the Queen his Mother's consent (which seemed not to be doubted of) and to that purpose Captain *Titus*, a Person grateful to *Argyle*, and to all the Presbyterian Party, was sent; who, finding the Queen less warm upon the Proposition than was expected, made less haste back; so that the Fate of *Scotland* was first determined.

The King's Army was as well modelled, and in as good a Condition as it was like to be whilst he stayed in Scotland. By that time that *Cromwell* was ready to take the Field, his Majesty was persuaded to make *David Lesley* his Lieutenant-General of the Army; who had very long experience, and a very good Name in War; and *Middleton* Commanded the Horse. The Artillery was in very good order under the Command of *Wemmes*, who had not the worse Reputation there for having been ungrateful to the King's Father. He was a confessed good Officer; and there were, or could be, very few Officers of any superior Command, but such who had drawn their Swords against his late Majesty; most of those who had served under the Marquis of *Mountrose*, having been put to death. Many of the greatest Noblemen had raised Regiments, or Troops; and all the young Gentlemen of the Kingdom appeared very hearty and cheerful in Commands, or as Volunteers: and, in all appearance, they seemed a Body equal in any respect, and superior in Number, to the Enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifest that they desired nothing more than to come to Battle; which was not thought Counsellable for the King's Army to engage in, except upon very notable Advantages; which they had reason every day to expect; for there was a very broad and deep River between them; and if they kept the Passes, of which they were possessed, and could hardly chuse but keep, *Cromwell* must in a very few days want Provisions, and so be forced to retire, whilst the King had plenty of all things which he stood in need of, and could, by the ad-

Cromwell
endeavours
to fight the
King's Army.

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Both Armies
near each other
in the Months
of June and
July.

Cromwell
gains a Pass,
and gets be-
hind the King.

vantage of the Passes, be in his Rear as soon as he thought fit.

In this posture both Armies stood in view of each other near the two Months of *June* and *July*, with some small attempts upon each other, with equal Success. About the end of *July*, by the cowardice or treachery of Major-General *Brown*, who had a Body of four thousand Men to keep it, *Cromwell's* Forces under *Lambert* gained the Pass, by which they got behind the King; and though they could not compel his Majesty to fight, for there was still the great River between them, they were possessed, or might quickly be, of the most fruitful part of the Country; and so would not only have sufficient Provision for their own Army, but in a short time would be able to cut off much of that which should supply the King's. This was a great surprize to the King, and put him into new Counsels; and he did, with the unanimous Advice of almost all the principal Officers, and all those who were admitted to the Council, take a resolution worthy of his Courage; which, how unfortunate soever it proved, was evidence enough that the same misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

The King was now, by *Cromwell's* putting himself behind him, much nearer to *England* than He: nor was it possible for him to overtake his Majesty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to pass, till after the King had been some days march before him: his Majesty's fate depended upon the Success of one Battle: for a possible Escape into the High-lands, after a Defeat, there was no Kingly prospect: all the Northern parts of *England* had given him cause to believe that they

were very well affected to his Service, and if he could reach those Countries, he might presume to increase his Army, which was numerous enough, with an Addition of such Men as would make it much more considerable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforesaid, it was resolved that the Army should immediately march, with as much Expedition as was possible, into *England*, by the nearest ways, which led into *Lancashire*, whither the King sent Expresses to give those, of whom he expected much (by reason some of them had been in *Scotland* with him, with promise of large undertakings) notice of his purpose, that they might get their Soldiers together to receive him. His Majesty sent likewise an Express to the Isle of *Man*, where the Earl of *Derby* had securely reposed himself from the end of the former War, "that he should meet his Majesty in *Lancashire*." The Marquis of *Argyle* was the only Man who dissuaded his Majesty's march into *England*, with reasons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he stayed behind; and when the King begun his march, retired to his House in the High-lands. Some were of opinion, that he should then have been made Prisoner, and left so secured that he might not be able to do mischief when the King was gone, which most Men believed he would incline to. But his Majesty would not consent to it, because he was confident "he would not attempt any thing while the Army was entire: if it prevailed, he neither would, nor could do any harm; and if it were defeated, it would be no great matter what he did."

The King
resolves to
march into
England.

The Marquis
of Argyle, only
dissuaded it,
and stayed
behind, and
retired to his
House.

Though *Cromwell* was not frequently without good

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Cromwell's
Resolutions
and Counfels
upon this
News.

Intelligence what was done in the King's Army, and Councils, yet this last resolution was consulted with so great secrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the King had marched a whole day without his comprehending what the meaning was, and before he received the least advertisement of it. It was not a small surprize to him, nor was it easy for him to resolve what to do. If he should follow with his whole Army, all the Advantages he had got in *Scotland*, would be presently lost, and the whole Kingdom be again united in any new mischief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the King; whose Army, he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than His could do. There were two considerations which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible consternation he foresaw the Parliament would be in, when they heard that the King with his Army was nearer to them, than their own Army was for their defence; and he knew that he had Enemies enough to improve their fear, and to lessen his Conduct: the other was, the Apprehension, that, if the King had time given to rest in any place, he would infinitely increase and strengthen his Army by the resort of the People, as well as the Gentry and Nobility from all parts. And though he did so much undervalue the *Scottish* Army, that he would have been glad to have found himself engaged with it, upon any inequality of Numbers, and disadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with *English*, they might be made very considerable. He took a very quick resolution to provide for all the best he could: he despatched an Express to

the Parliament, to prevent their being surpris'd with the News; and to assure them, "that he would himself overtake the Enemy before they should give them any trouble;" and gave such farther Orders for drawing the Auxiliary-Troops together in the several Counties, as he thought fit.

He gave *Lambert* Order, "immediately to follow the King with seven or eight hundred Horse, and to draw as many others, as he could, from the Country-Militia; and to disturb his Majesty's march the most he could, by being near, and obliging him to march close; not engaging his own Party in any sharp Actions, without a very notorious advantage; but to keep himself entire till he should come up to him." With this Order *Lambert* marched away the same day the Advertisement came.

Orders *Lambert* to follow the King with a Body of Horse.

Cromwell resolv'd then to leave Major-General *Monk*, upon whom he look'd with most confidence, as an excellent Officer of Foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a strong Party of Foot, and some Troops of Horse, strong enough to suppress any Forces which should rise after his departure, "to keep *Edinburgh*, and the Harbour of *Leith*; to surprize and apprehend as many of the Nobility, and considerable Gentry, as he should suspect, and keep them under custody; to use the highest severity against all who oppos'd him; and, above all, not to endure or permit the Licence of the Preachers in their Pulpits; and to make himself as formidable as was possible: in the last place, that, as soon as there appeared no visible force in the Field, he should besiege *Sterling*;" whither most Persons of condition were retired with

Leaves *Monk* in Scotland.

B O O K
XIII.

their Goods of Value, as to a place of strength, and capable of being defended ; where the Records of the Kingdom, and many other things of most account were deposited ; it being the place where the King had, for the most part, resided. He charged him, “ if
“ at St. *Johnston's* or any other place, he found a
“ stubborn resistance, and were forced to spend much
“ time, or to take it by Storm, that he should give no
“ Quarter, nor exempt it from a general Plunder ; all which Rules *Monk* observed with the utmost rigor ; and made himself as terrible as Man could be.

And follows
the King three
days after.

When *Cromwell* had despatched all these Orders and Directions, with marvellous Expedition, and seen most of them advanced in some degree, he begun his own March with the remainder of his Army, three days after the King was gone, with a wonderful cheerfulness, and assurance to the Officers and Soldiers, that he should obtain a full Victory in *England* over those who fled from him out of *Scotland*.

The King had, from the time that he had recovered any Authority in *Scotland*, granted a Commission to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to raise a Regiment of Horse which *Massey* was to command under him, and to raise another Regiment of Foot. And the *English* which should resort thither, of which they expected great Numbers, were to List themselves in those Regiments. And there were some who had Listed themselves accordingly ; but the discipline the *Scots* had used to the King, and their adhering to their old Principles, even after they seemed united for his Majesty, had kept the King's friends in *England* from repairing to them in *Scotland*. They who came from

Holland with the King, had disposed themselves as is said before, and there was little doubt but that, as soon as the King should enter *England*, those two Regiments would be immediately full. The Duke of *Buckingham* had lost much ground (and the more because the King was not pleased with it) by his having broken off all manner of Friendship with Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* (to whom he had professed so much) and had entered into so fast a conjunction with the Marquis of *Argyle*, their declared irreconcilable Enemy, and adhered so firmly to him, when he was less dutiful to the King than he ought to have been. *Massey* had got a great Name by his defending *Glocester* against the late King, and was looked upon as a Martyr for the Presbyterian Interest, and so very dear to that Party; and therefore, as soon as they came within the borders of *England*, he was sent with some Troops before, and was always to march at least a day before the Army, to the end that he might give notice of the King's coming, and draw the Gentry of the Counties through which he passed, to be ready to attend upon his Majesty. Besides, he had particular acquaintance with most of the Presbyterians of *Lancashire*; whom Nobody imagined to be of the *Scottish* temper, or unwilling to unite and join with the Royal Party; nor indeed were they.

Massey sent
to march
before the
King.

But it was fatal at that time to all *Scottish* Armies, to have always in them a Committee of Ministers, who ruined all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to chuse such Men for that Service as had the reputation of being the most Sober, and Moderate of that whole Body, and who

A Committee
of Ministers
in the King's
Army, who
ruin all.

B O O K had showed more Affection, and advanced the King's
XIII. Service more than the rest; yet this moderate People no sooner heard that *Massey* was sent before to call upon their Friends, and observed that, from the entrance into *England*, those about the King seemed to have less regard for the Covenant than formerly, but they sent an Express to him, without communicating it in the least degree with the King, with Letters, and a Declaration, wherein they required him "to publish that Declaration, which signified the King's, and the whole Army's Zeal for the Covenant, and their Resolution to prosecute the true intent of it;" and forbid him "to receive or entertain any Soldiers in his Troops, but those who would subscribe that obligation." The King had soon notice of this, and lost no time in sending to *Massey* "not to publish any such Declaration, and to behave himself with equal civility towards all Men who were forward to serve his Majesty." But before this inhibition was received, the matter had taken Air in all places, and was spread over the Kingdom; all Men fled from their Houses, or concealed themselves, who wished the King very well; and besides, his Motion was so quick, that none of them could repair to him.

The Earl of Derby met the King in Lancashire.

Lambert follows, but

In *Lancashire* the Earl of *Derby* met him; who, as soon as he received his Summons, left the Isle of *Man*. When the King's Army came about *Warrington* in *Cheshire*, they found, that there was a Body of the Enemy drawn up in a fair Field, which did not appear considerable enough to stop their march. This was *Lambert*; who had made so much haste, that he had

had that day fallen upon some of their Troops, and beaten them into the Army; but when the Army came up, *Lambert*, according to his Order and purpose, retired, and, being pursued by the King's Horse with a greater party, made more haste than a well ordered retreat requires, but with no considerable loss. This Success made a great noise; as if *Lambert* had been defeated.

At *Warrington* it was thought Counsellable, very unfortunately, that the Earl of *Derby*, with the Lord *Withrington*, and several other Officers of good Name, should return into *Lancashire*, in order to raise the well affected in those two Counties of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*; who could not come in upon so quick a march, as the King had made: and yet it being out of the road that *Cromwell* was to follow, who was entered into *Yorkshire*, the remaining of those Persons there, was thought a good Expedient to gather a Body of *English*, which the King extremely desired: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the Army. In order to which, the Earl had a Body of near two hundred Horse, consisting, for the most part, of Officers, and Gentlemen; which deprived the Army of a strength they wanted; and was afterwards acknowledged to be a Counsel too suddenly entered upon.

Upon appearance of that Body of *Lambert's*, the whole Army was drawn up, and appeared very cheerful. The King having observed *David Lesley*, throughout the whole march, sad and melancholy, and, at that time when the Enemy retired, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good retreat used to be made,

B O O K flow in giving Orders, and residing by himself, his
XIII. Majesty rode up to him, and asked him, with great
 alacrity, "how he could be sad, when he was in
 "the head of so brave an Army?" (which he said
 looked well that day) and demanded of him, "how
 David Lesley's "he liked them?" To which *David Lesley* answered
 saying con- him in his Ear, being at some distance from any other,
 cerning the "that he was melancholy indeed; for he well knew
 Scottish Army. "that Army, how well soever it looked, would not
 "Fight:" which the King imputed to the chagrin
 of his Humor, and gave it no credit, nor told it to
 any Man, till some years after, upon another occasion
 which will be remembered in it's place, he told the
 Chancellor of the Exchequer of it.

It was not thought fit to pursue *Lambert*; who,
 being known to be a Man of Courage and Conduct,
 and his Troops to be of the best, was suspected, by
 so disorderly, a Retreat, to have only designed to
 have drawn the Army another way, to disorder and
 disturb their march; which they resolved to continue
 with the same Expedition they had hitherto used,
 which was incredible; until they should come to
 such a Post as they might securely rest themselves.
 And there was an imagination, that they might have
 continued it even to *London*; which would have pro-
 duced wonderful Effects. But they quickly found
 that to be impossible, and that both Horse and Foot
 grew so weary, that they must have rest: the wea-
 ther was exceedingly hot; the march having been
 begun near the beginning of *August*; so that if they
 had not some rest before an Enemy approached them,
 how willing soever they might be, they could not be
 able to Fight.

There was a small Garrison in *Shrewsbury* Com-
 manded by a Gentleman, who, it was thought, might
 be prevailed with to give it up to the King; but his
 Majesty sending to him, he returned a rude denial:
 so that his Majesty's Eye was upon *Worcester*; that
 was so little out of his way to *London*, that the going
 thither would not much retard the march, if they
 found the Army able to continue it. *Worcester* had
 always been a place very well affected in itself, and
 most of the Gentlemen of that County had been en-
 gaged for the King in the former War, and the City
 was the last that had Surrendered to the Parliament,
 of all those which had been Garrisoned for his Ma-
 jesty; when all the Works were thrown down, and
 no Garrison from that time had been kept there; the
 Sheriff, and Justices, and Committees, having had
 power enough to defend it against any malignity of
 the Town, or County; and at this time, all the
 principal Gentry of that County had been seized
 upon, and were now Prisoners there. Thither the
 King came with his Army, even as soon as they had
 heard that he was in *England*: whereupon the Com-
 mittee, and all those who were employed by the Par-
 liament, fled in all the confusion imaginable, leaving
 their Prisoners behind them, lest they themselves
 should become Prisoners to them; and the City
 opened their Gates, and received the King, with all
 the demonstration of Affection and Duty that could
 be expressed, and made such provision for the Army,
 that it wanted nothing it could desire; the Mayor
 taking care for the present provision of Shoes and
 Stockings, the want whereof, in so long a march, was

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The King
 Summons
Shrewsbury in
 vain.

The King
 marches to
Worcester.

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very apparent and grievous. The principal Persons of the Country found themselves at liberty; and They, and the Mayor and Aldermen, with all the Solemnity they could prepare, attended the Herald, who proclaimed the King, as he had done, in more haste, and with less formality, in all those considerable Towns through which his Majesty had passed.

Where he is
proclaimed.

The Army liked their Quarters here so well, that neither Officer, nor Soldier was in any degree willing to quit them, till they should be thoroughly refreshed: and it could not be denied that the fatigue had been even insupportable; never had so many hundred Miles been marched in so few days, and with so little rest; nor did it in truth appear reasonable to any that they should remove from thence, since it was not possible that they should be able to reach *London*, though it had been better prepared for the King's reception than it appeared to be, before *Cromwell* would be there: who, having with great haste continued his march in a direct Line, was now as near to it as the King's Army was, and stood only at a gaze to be informed what his Majesty meant to do. *Worcester* was a very good Post, seated almost in the middle of the Kingdom, and in as fruitful a Country as any part of it; a good City, served by the noble River of *Severn* from all the adjacent Counties; *Wales* behind it, from whence Levies might be made of great Numbers of stout Men: it was a place where the King's Friends might repair, if they had the Affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himself, if the Enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be com-

pelled to engage his Army in a Battle till *Cromwell* had gotten Men enough to encompass him on all sides: and then the King might chuse on which side to Fight, since the Enemy must be on both sides the River, and could not come suddenly to reliever each other, and the straitening the King to this degree would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for several Insurrections in the Kingdom, if they were so weary of the present Tyranny, and so solicitous to be restored to the King's Government, as they were conceived to be: for no Body could ever hope for a more secure season to manifest their Loyalty, than when the King was in the heart of the Kingdom, with a formed Army of about fifteen thousand Men, Horse, and Foot (for so they might be accounted to be) with which he might relieve those who were in danger to be oppressed by a more powerful Party. These considerations produced the Resolution to provide, in the best manner, to expect *Cromwell* there; and a hope that he might be delayed by other diversions: and there was like to be time enough to cast up such Works upon the Hill before the Town, as might keep the Enemy at a distance, and their own Quarters from being suddenly straitened: all which were recommended to General *Lesley* to take care of, and to take such a perfect View of the Ground, that no advantage might be lost when the time required it.

The first ill Omen that happened, was the News of the defeat of the Earl of *Derby*, and the total destruction of those gallant Persons who accompanied him. The Earl of *Derby*, within two or three days

The ill success
of the Earl of
Derby.

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after he had left the King, with a Body of near two hundred Horse, all gallant Men, employed his Servants, and Tenants, to give the Country notice of his staying behind the King, to Head and Command those Persons who should repair to his service; which the quick march his Majesty made through the Country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the People, he went to a little Market-Town, called *Wigan*, in *Lancashire*, where he stayed that Night; when in the Morning a Regiment or two of the Militia of the neighbour-Countries, and some other Troops of the Army, Commanded by a Man of Courage, whom *Cromwell* had sent to follow in the track of the King's march, to gather up the Stragglers, and such as were not able to keep pace with the Army, having received some Advertisement that a Troop of the King's Horse were behind the Army in that Town, fell very early into it, before the Persons in the Town were out of their Beds, having assurance, upon all the inquiry they could make, that there was no Enemy near them. Nor indeed, was there any suspicion of those Forces, which consisted of the several Troops of the several Counties with others of the Army, and passed that way by accident. As many as could get to their Horses, presently mounted; they who could not, put themselves together on Foot, and all endeavoured to keep the Enemy from entering into the Town; and the few who were got on Horseback, Charged them with great Courage. But the Number of the Enemy was too great, and the Town too open, to put a stop to them in any one place, when they could enter

at so many, and encompass those who opposed them. B O O K
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The Earl of *Derby*, after his Horse had been killed under him, made a shift to mount again; and so, with a small Party of Horse, through many difficulties and dangers, escaped wounded to the King to *Worcester*.

The Lord *Withrington*, after he had received many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon those who assaulted him, was killed upon the place; and so was Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, and many other gallant Gentlemen, very few escaping to carry News of the defeat. Sir *William Throgmorton*, who had been formerly Major-General of the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, and was left to Command in the same function, received so many wounds, that he was looked upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the Prisoners; and so fell into such charitable and generous hands in the Town, that, being believed to be dead, he was afterwards so well recovered, though with great Maims and loss of Blood, that he at last got himself Transported into *Holland*; where he was, at first appearance, taken for a Ghost, all Men believing him to have been buried long before. Most of those who were taken Prisoners, of any Quality, were afterwards Sacrificed as a spectacle to the People, and Barbarously put to death in several places; some, with the Earl of *Derby*; and others, near the same time, in other places.

The Lord *Withrington* was one of the most goodly Persons of that Age, being near the head higher than most tall Men, and a Gentleman of the best and most

The Lord
Withrington
killed upon
the place.

The Lord
Withrington's
Character.

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ancient Extraction of the County of *Northumberland*, and of a very fair Fortune, and one of the four which the last King made choice of to be about the Person of his Son the Prince, as Gentleman of his Privy-Chamber, when he first settled his Family. His Affection to the King was always remarkable, and serving in the House of Commons as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Northumberland*, he quickly got the reputation of being amongst the most Malignant. As soon as the War broke out, he was of the first who raised both Horse and Foot at his own Charge, and served eminently with them under the Marquis of *New-Castle*; with whom he had a very particular and entire Friendship. He was very nearly allied to the Marquis; and by his Testimony that he had performed many signal Services, he was, about the middle of the War, made a Peer of the Kingdom. He was a Man of great Courage, but of some Passion, by which he incurred the ill Will of many, who imputed it to an insolence of Nature, which no Man was farther from; no Man of a Nature more civil, and candid towards all, in business, or conversation. But having sat long in the House of Commons, and observed the disingenuity of the proceedings there, and the gross cheats, by which they deceived and cozened the People, he had contracted so hearty an indignation against them, and all who were cozened by them, and against all who had not his Zeal to oppose and destroy them, that he often said things to slow and flegmatic Men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good Nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask

Pardon of those who would not question him for it. He Transported himself into the parts beyond the Sea at the same time with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, to accompany him, and remained still with him till the King went into *Scotland*; and then waited upon his Majesty, and endured the same Affronts which others did, during the time of his Residence there. And, it may be, the observation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their Principles, and the disdain of their Treatment, produced that aversion from their conversation, that prevailed upon his impatience to part too soon from their Company, in hope that the Earl of *Derby*, under whom he was very willing to serve, and he himself, might quickly draw together such a Body of the Royal Party, as might give some check to the unbounded imaginations of that Nation. It was reported by the Enemy, that, in respect of his brave Person and behaviour, they did offer him Quarter; which he refused; and that they were thereby compelled, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the Animosity the Parliament had against him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have used him better than they did the Earl of *Derby*; who had not more Enemies.

Sir *Thomas Tildesley* was a Gentleman of a good Family, and a good Fortune; who had raised Men at his own Charge at the beginning of the War, and had served in the Command of them till the very end of it, with great Courage; and refusing to make any composition after the Murder of the King, he

And Sir
Thomas
Tildesley's

B O O K found means to Transport himself into *Ireland* to the
XIII. Marquis of *Ormond*; with whom he stayed, till he
was, with the rest of the *English* Officers, dismissed,
to satisfy the barbarous Jealousy of the *Irish*; and
then got over into *Scotland* a little before the King
marched from thence, and was desired by the Earl
of *Derby* to remain with him. The Names of the
other Persons of Quality who were killed in that
Encounter, and those who were taken Prisoners, and
afterwards put to death, ought to be discovered, and
mentioned honorably, by any who shall propose to
himself to communicate particularly those Trans-
actions to the view of Posterity.

When the News of this Defeat came to *Worcester*,
as it did even almost as soon as the King came thi-
ther, it exceedingly afflicted his Majesty, and abated
much of the hope he had of a general Rising of the
People on his behalf. His Army was very little in-
creased by the access of any *English*; and though
he had passed near the habitation of many Persons
of Honor and Quality, whose Affections and Loyalty
had been eminent, not a Man of them repaired to
him. The sense of their former Sufferings remained,
and the smart was not over; nor did his stay in
Worcester for so many days add any resort to his
Court. The Gentlemen of the Country whom his
coming thither had redeemed from imprisonment,
remained still with him, and were useful to him; they
who were in their Houses in the Country, though
as well affected, remained there, and came not to
him; and though Letters from *London* had given him
cause to believe that many prepared to come to him,

which for some days they might easily have done, none appeared, except only some few Gentlemen, and some common Men who had formerly served the last King, and repaired again to *Worcester*.

There were some other Accidents and Observations which administered matter of Mortification to the King. The Duke of *Buckingham* had a mind very restless, and thought he had not credit enough with the King if it were not made manifest that he had more than any Body else: and therefore, as soon as the King had entered *England*, though he had reason to believe that his Majesty had not been abundantly satisfied with his behaviour in *Scotland*, he came to the King, and told him, “ the business was now to
 “ reduce *England* to his obedience; and therefore he
 “ ought to do all things gracious, and popular in
 “ the eyes of the Nation; and nothing could be less
 “ so, than that the Army should be under the Com-
 “ mand of a *Scottish* General: that *David Lesley* was
 “ only Lieutenant-General; and it had been unrea-
 “ sonable, whilst he remained in *Scotland*, to have
 “ put any other to have commanded over him; but
 “ that it would be as unreasonable, now they were
 “ in *England*, and had hope to increase the Army
 “ by the access of the *English*, upon whom his prin-
 “ cipal dependance must be, to expect that they
 “ would be willing to serve under *Lesley*: that it
 “ would not consist with the honor of any Peer of
 “ *England* to receive His Orders; and, he believed,
 “ that very few of that Rank would repair to his
 “ Majesty, till they were secure from that apprehen-
 “ sion;” and used much more discourse to that

Transactions
of the King
at Worcester.

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pose. The King was so much surpris'd with it, that he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and asked him, "who it was" that he thought fit his Majesty should give that "Command to?" when, to his astonishment, the Duke told him, "he hoped his Majesty would confer it upon himself." At which the King was so amazed, that he found an occasion to break off the discourse, by calling upon some Body who was near, to come to him; and, by asking many questions, declined the former Argument. The Duke would not be so put off; but, the next day, in the march, renewed his importunity; and told the King, "that, he was confident, what he had propos'd to him, was so evidently for his Service, that *David Lesley* himself would willingly consent to it." The King, angry at his prosecuting it in that manner, told him, "he could hardly believe that he was in earnest, or that he could in truth believe that he could be fit for such a Charge;" which the Duke seem'd to wonder at, and asked, "wherein his unfitness lay?" to which the King replied, "that he was too young:" and he as readily alledged, "that *Harry* the fourth of *France* commanded an Army, and won a Battle, when he was younger than He:" so that, in the end, the King was compelled to tell him, "that he would have no Generalissimo but Himself:" upon which the Duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the Council, scarce spoke to the King, neglected every Body else and himself, insomuch as for many days he scarce put on clean Linen, nor conversed with any Body; nor did he recover from this ill humor whilst the Army stay'd at *Worcester*.

There was another worse Accident fell out soon after the King's coming thither: Major-General *Massey*, who thought himself now in his own Territory, and that all between *Worcester* and *Glocester* would be quickly his own Conquest, knowing every step both by Land and the River, went out with a Party to secure a Pass, which the Enemy might make over the River; which he did very well; but would then make a farther inroad into the Country, and possess a House which was of small importance, and in which there were Men to defend it; where he received a very dangerous Wound, that tore his Arm, and Hand, in such manner that he was in great torment, and could not stir out of his bed, in a time when his Activity and Industry was most wanted. By this means, the Pass he had secured, was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care for.

General
Massey
wounded in
an attempt

There was no good understanding between the Officers of the Army: *David Lesley* appeared dispirited, and confounded; gave, and revoked his Orders, and sometimes contradicted them. He did not love *Middleton*, and was very jealous that all the Officers loved him too well; who was indeed an excellent Officer, and kept up the Spirits of the rest, who had no esteem of *Lesley*. In this very unhappy distemper was the Court, and the Army, in a Season when they were ready to be swallowed by the power, and multitude of the Enemy, and when nothing could preserve them, but the most sincere Unity in their prayers to God, and a joint concurrence in their Counsels and endeavours; in all which they were miserably divided.

The ill disposition of the
King's Officers.

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The King's
defeat at
Worcester
3d of Sep-
tember.

The King had been several days in *Worcester*, when *Cromwell* was known to be within less than half a day's march, with an addition of very many Regiments of Horse and Foot to those which he had brought with him from *Scotland*; and many other Regiments were drawing towards him of the Militia of the several Counties, under the command of the principal Gentlemen of their party in the Countries: so that he was already very much superior, if not double in Number to the Army the King had with him. However, if those Rules had been observed, those Works cast up, and that order in quartering their Men, as were resolved upon when the King came thither, there must have been a good defence made, and the Advantages of the ground, the River, and the City, would have preserved them from being presently over-run. But, alas! the Army was in amazement and confusion. *Cromwell*, without troubling himself with the formality of a Siege, marched directly on as to a Prey, and possessed the Hill and all other places of Advantage, with very little opposition. It was upon the third of *September*, when the King having been upon his Horse most part of the Night, and having taken a full view of the Enemy, and every body being upon the Post they were appointed, and the Enemy making such a stand, that it was concluded he meant to make no Attempt then, and if he should, he might be repelled with ease; his Majesty, a little before Noon, retired to his Lodging to eat, and refresh himself: where he had not been near an hour, when the Alarm came, "that both Armies
" were engaged;" and though his Majesty's own

Horſe was ready at the door, and he preſently mounted, before or as ſoon as he came out of the City, he met the whole Body of his Horſe running in ſo great diſorder, that he could not ſtop them, though he uſed all the means he could, and called to many Officers by their Names; and hardly preſerved himſelf, by letting them paſs by, from being overthrown, and over-run by them.

Cromwell had uſed none of the delay, nor circumſpection which was imagined; but directed the Troops to fall on in all places at once; and had cauſed a ſtrong Party to go over the River at the Paſs, which *Maſſey* had formerly ſecured, at a good diſtance from the Town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that ſide the River, till they were even ready to charge the King's Troops. On that part where *Middleton* was, and with whom Duke *Hamilton* charged, there was a very brave reſiſtance; and they charged the Enemy ſo vigorously, that they beat the Body that charged them back, but they were quickly overpowered; and many Gentlemen being killed, and *Middleton* hurt, and Duke *Hamilton's* Leg broke with a Shot, the reſt were forced to retire and ſhift for themſelves. In no other part was there reſiſtance made; but ſuch a general conſternation poſſeſſed the whole Army, that the reſt of the Horſe fled, and all the Foot threw down their Arms before they were charged. When the King came back into the Town, he found a good Body of Horſe, which had been perſuaded to make a ſtand, though much the major part paſſed through upon the Spur. The King deſired thoſe who ſtaid,

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“ that they would follow him, that they might look
“ upon the Enemy, who, he believed, did not pur-
“ sue them.” But when his Majesty had gone a little
way, he found most of the Horse were gone the
other way, and that he had none but a few Servants
of his own about him. Then he sent to have the Gates
of the Town shut, that none might get in one way,
nor out the other : but all was confusion ; there were
few to Command, and none to obey : so that the
King staid, till very many of the Enemy’s Horse
were entered the Town, and then he was persuaded
to withdraw himself.

Duke Hamil-
ton died of his
wounds.

His Character.

Duke *Hamilton* fell into the Enemy’s hands ; and,
the next day, died of his Wounds ; and thereby pre-
vented the being made a Spectacle, as his Brother
had been ; which the Pride and Animosity of his
Enemies would no doubt have caused to be, having
the same pretence for it by his being a Peer of *England*,
as the other was. He was in all respects to be much
preferred before the other, a much wiser, though, it
may be, a less cunning Man : for he did not affect
dissimulation, which was the other’s Master-piece.
He had unquestionable courage : he was in truth a
very accomplished Person, of an excellent Judgment,
and clear and ready Expressions : and though he had
been driven into some unwarrantable Actions, he
made it very evident he had not been led by any In-
clinations of his own, and passionately and heartily
run to all opportunities of redeeming it : and, in the
very Article of his death, he expressed a marvellous
cheerfulness, “ that he had the honor to lose his life in
“ the King’s Service, and thereby to wipe out the
“ memory

“ memory of his former transgressions;” which he always professed were odious to himself. B O O K
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As the Victory cost the Enemy little blood, so after it there was not much cruelty used to the Prisoners who were taken upon the spot. But very many of those who run away, were every day knocked in the head by the Country-People, and used with barbarity. Towards the King's menial Servants, whereof most were taken, there was nothing of severity; but within few days they were all discharged, and set at liberty.

Though the King could not get a Body of Horse to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from *Worcester*, when he found about him near, if not above, four thousand of his Horse. There was *David Lesley* with all his own Equipage, as if he had not fled upon the sudden; so that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a retreat even into *Scotland* itself. But there was paleness in every Man's looks, and jealousy, and confusion, in their Faces; and scarce any thing could worse befall the King, than a return into *Scotland*; which yet he could not reasonably promise to himself in that company. But when the Night covered them, he found means to withdraw himself with one or two of his own Servants; whom he likewise discharged, when it begun to be Light; and after he had made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent Wood, and relied only upon Him for his preservation who alone could, and did Miraculously deliver him. The King's
Retreat, and
concealment.

When it was Morning, and the Troops, which had marched all Night, and who knew that when it

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begun to be dark the King was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared less for each other's company; and most of them who were *English* separated themselves, and went into other Roads; and wherever twenty Horse appeared of the Country, which was now awake, and upon their Guard to stop and arrest the Runaways, the whole Body of the *Scottish* Horse would fly, and run several ways; and twenty of them would give themselves Prisoners to two Country-Fellows: however, *David Lesley* reached *Yorkshire* with above fifteen hundred Horse in a Body. But the jealousies increased every day; and those of his own Country were so unsatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them, believe that he was corrupted by *Cromwell*; and the rest, who did not think so, believed him not to understand his profession, in which he had been bred from his Cradle. When he was in his flight, considering one Morning with the principal Persons, which way they should take, some proposed this, and others that way; Sir *William Armorer* asked him, "which way he thought best? which when he had named, the other said he would then go the other; for, he swore, he had betrayed the King and the Army all the time; and so left him."

David Lesley
and the rest
taken.

Well nigh all of them in this long flight were taken, and amongst them the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and many of the *Scottish* Nobility, and the Earls of *Cleveland* and *Derby*, and divers other Men of Quality of the *English* Nation. And it is hard to be believed how very few of that numerous Body of Horse (for there can be no imagination that any of the Foot escaped)

returned into *Scotland*. Upon all the inquiry that was made, when most of the false and treacherous Actions which had been committed were discovered, there appeared no cause to suspect that *David Lesley* had been unfaithful in his Charge: though he never recovered any Reputation with those of his own Country who wedded the King's Interest. And it was some vindication to him, that, from the time of his Imprisonment, he never received any favor from the Parliament, whom he had served so long; nor from *Cromwell*, in whose Company he had served; but underwent all the Severities, and long Imprisonment, the rest of his Country-men suffered. The King did not believe him false; and did always think him an excellent Officer of Horse, to distribute and execute Orders, but in no degree capable of Commanding in chief. And without doubt he was so amazed in that fatal day, that he performed not the Office of a General, or of any competent Officer.

They who fled out of *Worcester*, and were not killed, but made Prisoners, and all the Foot, and others who were taken in the Town, except some few Officers and Persons of Quality, were driven like Cattle with a Guard to *London*, and there treated with great rigor; and many perished for want of food; and being inclosed in little room, till they were sold to the Plantations for Slaves, they died of all diseases. *Cromwell* returned in Triumph; was received with universal Joy and Acclamation, as if he had destroyed the Enemy of the Nation, and for ever secured the Liberty, and Happiness of the People: a price was set upon the King's Head, whose escape was

The King's
Foot driven
Prisoners to
London, and
sold to the
Plantations.

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The Earl of
Derby his
Character
and Execu-
tion.

thought to be impossible ; and order taken for the Trial of the Earl of *Derby*, and such other notorious Prisoners as they had Voted to destruction.

The Earl of *Derby* was a Man of unquestionable Loyalty to the late King, and gave clear Testimony of it before he received any Obligations from the Court, and when he thought himself disobliged by it. This King, in his first year, sent him the Garter ; which, in many respects, he had expected from the last. And the sense of that Honor made him so readily comply with the King's Command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the Undertaking, nor any inclination to the *Scots* ; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depressed the Crown, to be made Instruments of repairing and restoring it. He was a Man of great Honor and clear Courage ; and all his defects, and misfortunes, proceeded from his having lived so little time among his Equals, that he knew not how to treat his Inferiors ; which was the Source of all the ill that befel him, having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from Persons of inferior Quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemned, that they pursued him to death. The King's Army was no sooner defeated at *Worcester*, but the Parliament renewed their old Method of Murdering in cold Blood, and sent a Commission to erect a High-Court of Justice to Persons of ordinary Quality, many not being Gentlemen, and all notoriously his Enemies, to Try the Earl of *Derby* for his Treason and Rebellion ; which they easily found him guilty of ; and put him to death in a Town of his own, against which he had expressed

a severe displeasure for their obstinate Rebellion against the King, with all the circumstances of Rudeness and Barbarity they could invent. The same Night, one of those who was amongst his Judges, sent a Trumpet to the Isle of *Man* with a Letter directed to the Countess of *Derby*, by which he required her “to deliver up the Castle and Island to the Parliament:” Nor did their Malice abate, till they had reduced that Lady, a Woman of very high and Princely Extraction, being the Daughter of the Duke *de Tremouille* in *France*, and of the most exemplary Virtue and Piety of her time, and that whole most noble Family, to the lowest penury and want, by disposing, giving, and selling, all the Fortune and Estate that should support it.

They of the King's Friends in *Flanders*, *France*, and *Holland*, who had not been permitted to attend upon his Majesty in *Scotland*, were much exalted with the News of his being entered *England* with a Powerful Army, and being possessed of *Worcester*, which made all Men prepare to make haste thither. But they were confounded with the News of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the Person of the King, “of his being found amongst the dead; of his being Prisoner;” and all those imaginations which naturally attend upon such unprosperous Events. Many who had made escapes, arrived every day in *France*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*, but knew no more what was become of the King, than They did who had not been in *England*. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongst those that fled, and some of them had seen

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The King
came to Rouen
in November.

The particu-
lars of the
King's Escape
as the Author
had them from
the King
himself.

The King
meets Captain
Careless in a

him that Evening after the Battle, many Miles out of *Worcester*. These unsteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; sometimes they heard he was at the *Hague* with his Sister, which was occasioned by the arrival of the Duke of *Buckingham* in *Holland*; and it was thought good Policy to publish that the King himself was landed, that the Search after him in *England* might be discontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that side the Sea. And this anxiety of mind disquieted the hearts of all Honest Men during the whole Months of *September* and *October*, and part of *November*; in which Month his Majesty was known to be at *Rouen*; where he made himself known, and stayed some days to provide Clothes; and from thence gave notice to the Queen of his arrival.

It is great pity that there was never a Journal made of that Miraculous Deliverance, in which there might be seen so many visible impressions of the immediate Hand of God. When the darkness of the Night was over, after the King had cast himself into that Wood, he discerned another Man, who had gotten upon an Oak in the same Wood, near the place where the King had rested himself, and had slept soundly. The Man upon the Tree had first seen the King, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the King, being a Gentleman of the neighbour-County of *Staffordshire*, who had served his late Majesty during the War, and had now been one of the few who resorted to the King after his coming to *Worcester*. His name was *Careless*, who had had a Command of Foot, about the degree of a Captain, under

the Lord *Loughborough*. He persuaded the King, since it could not be safe for him to go out of the Wood, and that, as soon as it should be fully light, the Wood itself would probably be visited by those of the Country, who would be searching to find those whom they might make Prisoners, that he would get up into that Tree, where He had been: where the Boughs were so thick with leaves, that a Man would not be discovered there without a narrower Inquiry than People usually make in places which they do not suspect. The King thought it good Counsel; and, with the other's help, climbed into the Tree; and then helped his Companion to ascend after him; where they sat all that day, and securely saw Many who came purposely into the Wood to look after them, and heard all their discourse, how they would use the King himself if they could take him. This Wood was either in, or upon the Borders of *Staffordshire*; and though there was a High-way near one side of it, where the King had entered into it, yet it was large, and all other sides of it opened amongst Inclosures, and *Careless* was not unacquainted with the neighbour-Villages, and it was part of the King's good Fortune, that this Gentleman by being a Roman-Catholic, was acquainted with those of that Profession of all degrees, who had the best opportunities of concealing him: for it must never be denied, that some of that Religion had a very great share in his Majesty's preservation.

The day being spent in the Tree, it was not in the King's power to forget that he had lived two Days with eating very little, and two Nights with

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wood, who
persuades him
to get up into
an Oak.

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Thence he
came to a
Cottage nine
miles off,
where he lay
in a Barn.

as little sleep; so that, when the Night came, he was willing to make some provision for both: and he resolved, with the advice and assistance of his Companion, to leave his blessed Tree; and, when the Night was dark, they walked through the Wood into those Inclosures which were farthest from any High-way, and making a shift to get over Hedges and Ditches, after walking at least eight or nine Miles, which were the more grievous to the King by the weight of his Boots (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair, for want of Shoes) before Morning they came to a poor Cottage, the Owner whereof being a Roman Catholic was known to *Careless*. He was called up, and as soon as he knew one of them, he easily concluded in what condition they both were; and presently carried them into a little Barn, full of Hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himself. But when they were there, and had conferred with their Host of the news and temper of the Country, it was agreed, that the danger would be the greater if they staid together; and therefore that *Careless* should presently be gone; and should, within two days, send an honest Man to the King, to guide him to some other place of security; and in the mean time his Majesty should stay upon the Hay-mow. The poor Man had nothing for him to eat, but promised him good Butter-milk; and so he was once more left alone, his Companion how weary soever, departing from him before day, the poor Man of the House knowing no more, than that he was a Friend of the Captain's, and one of those who had escaped from *Worcester*. The King slept

very well in his lodging, till the time that his Host brought him a piece of Bread, and a great Pot of Butter-milk, which he thought the best food he ever had eaten. The poor Man spoke very intelligently to him of the Country, and of the People who were well, or ill affected to the King, and of the great fear, and terror, that possessed the hearts of those who were best affected." He told him, "that he himself
 "lived by his daily Labor, and that what he had
 "brought him was the Fare he and his Wife had;
 "and that he feared, if he should endeavour to procure better, it might draw suspicion upon him,
 "and People might be apt to think he had some body
 "with him that was not of his own Family. However, if he would have him get some Meat, he
 "would do it; but if he could bear this hard Diet,
 "he should have enough of the Milk, and some of
 "the Butter that was made with it." The King was satisfied with his reason, and would not run the hazard for a change of Diet; desired only the Man,
 "that he might have his Company as often, and as
 "much as he could give it him;" there being the same reasons against the poor Man's discontinuing his Labor, as the alteration of his Fare.

After he had rested upon this Hay-mow, and fed upon this Diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another fellow, a little above the condition of his Host, came to the House, sent from *Careless*, to conduct the King to another House, more out of any Road near which any part of the Army was like to march. It was above twelve Miles that he was to go, and was to use the same

Thence he is
 conducted to
 another House
 12 miles off.

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XIII.

caution he had done the first Night, not to go in any common Road ; which his Guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new-dressed himself, changing Clothes with his Landlord ; he had a great mind to have kept his own Shirt, but he considered, that Men are not sooner discovered by any mark in disguises, than by having fine Linen in ill Clothes ; and so he parted with his Shirt too, and took the same his poor Host had then on. Though he had foreseen that he must leave his Boots, and his Landlord had taken the best care he could to provide an old pair of Shoes, yet they were not easy to him when he first put them on, and, in a short time after, grew very grievous to him. In this Equipage he set out from his first lodging in the beginning of the Night, under the conduct of this Guide ; who guided him the nearest way, crossing over Hedges and Ditches, that they might be in least danger of meeting passengers. This was so grievous a march, and he was so tired, that he was even ready to despair, and to prefer being taken and suffered to rest, before purchasing his Safety at that price. His Shoes had, after a few Miles, hurt him so much, that he had thrown them away, and walked the rest of the way in his ill Stockings, which were quickly worn out ; and his Feet, with the Thorns in getting over Hedges, and with the Stones in other places, were so hurt and wounded, that he many times cast himself upon the ground, with a desperate and obstinate Resolution to rest there till the Morning, that he might shift with less torment, what hazard soever he run. But his stout Guide still prevailed with him to make a new attempt, some-

times promising that the way should be better, and sometimes assuring him that he had but little farther to go; and in this distress and perplexity, before the Morning, they arrived at the House designed; which though it was better than that which he had left, his lodging was still in the Barn, upon Straw instead of Hay, a place being made as easy in it, as the expectation of a Guest could dispose it. Here he had such Meat and Porridge as such People use to have; with which, but especially with the Butter and the Cheese, he thought himself well feasted; and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, little better, Shoes and Stockings: and after his Feet were enough recovered that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor House, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble: for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his escape, all that was designed was only by shifting from one House to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that Quarter, which was more inhabited by the Roman-Catholics than most other parts in *England*, he was led from one to another of that Persuasion, and concealed with great Fidelity. But he then observed that he was never carried to any Gentleman's House, though that Country was full of them, but only to poor Houses of poor Men, which only yielded him rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better Houses, in regard of the resort, and the many Servants; or whether the Owners of great Estates, were the Owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions.

Thence to another; and so to others

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Mr. Hudleston
sent to him by
Careless; who
brought him
to the Lord
Wilmot.

Within few days, a very honest and discreet Person, one Mr. *Hudleston*, a Benedictine-Monk, who attended the Service of the Roman-Catholics in those parts, came to him, sent by *Careless*; and was a very great assistance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him, were at too great a distance to walk, he provided him a Horse, and more proper Habit than the Rags he wore. This Man told him, “ that the Lord *Wilmot* lay concealed likewise “ in a Friend’s House of his; which his Majesty was “ very glad of; and wished him to contrive some “ means, how they might speak together;” which the other easily did; “ and, within a night or two, brought them into one place. *Wilmot* told the King “ that he had by very good Fortune, fallen into the “ House of an honest Gentleman, one Mr. *Lane*, a “ Person of an excellent Reputation for his Fidelity “ to the King, but of so universal and general a good “ Name, that, though he had a Son, who had been “ a Colonel in the King’s Service, during the late “ War, and was then upon his way with Men to “ *Worcester* the very day of the defeat, Men of all “ Affections in the Country, and of all Opinions, “ paid the old Man a very great respect: that he had “ been very civilly treated there, and that the old “ Gentleman had used some diligence to find out “ where the King was, that he might get him to his “ House; where, he was sure, he could conceal him “ till he might contrive a full deliverance.” He told him, “ he had withdrawn from that House, in hope “ that he might, in some other place, discover where “ his Majesty was, and having now happily found

“ him, advised him to repair to that House, which
 “ stood not near any other.”

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The King inquired of the Monk of the reputation of this Gentleman; who told him, “ that he had a fair
 “ Estate; was exceedingly beloved; and the eldest
 “ Justice of Peace of that County of *Stafford*; and
 “ though he was a very zealous Protestant, yet he
 “ lived with so much civility and candor towards
 “ the Catholics, that they would all trust him, as
 “ much as they would do any of their own profession;
 “ and that he could not think of any place of so good
 “ repose and security for his Majesty’s repair to.”

The King liked the Proposition, yet thought not fit to surprize the Gentleman; but sent *Wilmot* thither again, to assure himself that he might be received there; and was willing that he should know what Guest he received; which hitherto was so much concealed, that none of the Houses where he had yet been, knew, or seemed to suspect more than that he was one of the King’s Party that fled from *Worcester*. The Monk carried him to a House at a reasonable distance, where he was to expect an Account from the Lord *Wilmot*; who returned very punctually, with as much assurance of welcome as he could wish. And so they two went together to Mr. *Lane*’s House; where the King found he was welcome, and conveniently accommodated in such places, as in a large House had been provided to conceal the Persons of Malignants, or to preserve goods of value from being plundered. Here he lodged, and ate very well; and begun to hope that he was in present safety. *Wilmot* returned under the care of the Monk, and expected Summons, when any farther motion should be thought to be necessary.

The King
 brought by
 him to Mr.
Lane’s House.

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In this Station the King remained in quiet and blessed security many days, receiving every day information of the general consternation the Kingdom was in, out of the apprehension that his Person might fall into the hands of his Enemies, and of the great diligence they used to inquire for him. He saw the Proclamation that was issued out and printed; in which a thousand pounds were promised to any Man who would deliver and discover the Person of *Charles Stuart*, and the penalty of High-Treason declared against those who presumed to harbour or conceal him: by which he saw how much he was beholding to all those who were faithful to him. It was now time to consider how he might get near the Sea, from whence he might find some means to Transport himself: and he was now near the middle of the Kingdom, saving that it was a little more Northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the Ports, and with that Coast. In the West he was best acquainted, and that Coast was most proper to Transport him into *France*; to which he was inclined. Upon this matter he Communicated with those of this Family to whom he was known, that is, with the old Gentleman the Father, a very grave and venerable Person, the Colonel his Eldest Son, a very plain Man in his discourse and behaviour, but of a fearless Courage, and an integrity superior to any temptation, and a Daughter of the House, of a very good wit and discretion, and very fit to bear any part in such a Trust. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times, that the Affections of all Men were almost as well known as their Faces, by the discovery they had made of

themselves, in those sad Seasons, in many trials and Persecutions: so that Men knew not only the minds of their next Neighbours, and those who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their Friends, could chuse fit Houses, at any distance, to repose themselves in security, from one end of the Kingdom to another, without trusting the Hospitality of a common Inn: and Men were very rarely deceived in their confidence upon such occasions, but the Persons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another House of the same Affection.

Mr. *Lane* had a Niece, or very near Kinswoman, who was married to a Gentleman, one Mr. *Norton*, a Person of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who lived within four or five Miles of *Bristol*, which was at least four or five days journey from the place where the King then was, but a place most to be wished for the King to be in, because he did not only know all that Country very well, but knew many Persons also, to whom, in an extraordinary case, he durst make himself known. It was hereupon resolved, that Mrs. *Lane* should visit this Cousin, who was known to be of good affections: and that she should ride behind the King; who was fitted with Clothes and Boots for such a Service; and that a Servant of her Father's, in his Livery, should wait upon her. A good House was easily pitched upon for the first night's Lodging; where *Wilmot* had notice given him to meet. And in this Equipage the King begun his Journey; the Colonel keeping him Company at a distance, with a Hawk upon his fist, and two or three Spaniels; which, where there were any Fields at hand,

Here it was
resolved the
King should
go to Mr.
Norton's;
riding before
Mrs. *Lane*.

B O O K warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his
XIII. Company still in his eye, and not seeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their first Night's Lodging; and they need not now Contrive to come to their Journey's end about the close of the Evening, for it was in the Month of *October* far advanced, that the long Journies they made could not be despatched sooner. Here the Lord *Wilmot* found them; and their Journies being then adjusted, he was instructed where he should be every Night: so they were seldom seen together in the Journey, and rarely lodged in the same House at Night. In this manner the Colonel hawked two or three days, till he had brought them within less than a day's Journey of Mr. *Norton's* House; and then he gave his Hawk to the Lord *Wilmot*; who continued the Journey in the same Exercise.

There was great care taken when they came to any House, that the King might be presently carried into some Chamber; Mrs. *Lane* declaring "that he was a
 " Neighbour's Son, whom his Father had lent her to
 " ride before her, in hope that he would the sooner
 " recover from a Quartan-Ague, with which he had
 " been miserably afflicted, and was not yet free."
 And by this Artifice she caused a good bed to be still provided for him, and the best meat to be sent; which she often carried herself, to hinder others from doing it. There was no resting in any place till they came to Mr. *Norton's*, nor any thing extraordinary that happened in the way, save that they met many People every day in the way, who were very well known to the King; and the day that they went to Mr. *Norton's*, they were necessarily to ride quite through the
 City

City of *Bristol*; a place, and People, the King had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: and when he rode near the place where the great Fort had stood, he could not forbear putting his Horse out of the way, and rode with his Mistress behind him round about it.

They came to Mr. *Norton's* House sooner than usual, and it being on a Holy-day, they saw many People about a Bowling-Green that was before the door, and the first Man the King saw was a Chaplain of his own, who was allied to the Gentleman of the House, and was sitting upon the rails to see how the Bowlers played. *William*, by which name the King went, walked with his Horse into the Stable, until his Mistress could provide for his retreat. Mrs. *Lane* was very welcome to her Cousin, and was presently conducted to her Chamber; where she no sooner was, than she lamented the condition of "a good Youth, " who came with her, and whom she had borrowed " of his Father to ride before her, who was very sick, " being newly recovered of an Ague; and desired her " Cousin, that a Chamber might be provided for " him, and a good fire made: for that he would go " early to bed, and was not fit to be below stairs." A pretty little Chamber was presently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a Boy sent into the Stable to call *William*, and to show him his Chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from so much Company as was below. Mrs. *Lane* was put to find some excuse for making a visit at that time of the year, and so

They came
safe to Mr.
Norton's
through
Bristol.

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many days Journey from her Father, and where she had never been before, though the Mistress of the house and she had been bred together, and friends as well as kindred. She pretended "that she was, after a little rest, to go into *Dorsetshire* to another Friend." When it was supper-time, there being Broth brought to the Table, Mrs. *Lane* filled a little dish, and desired the Butler, who waited at the Table, "to carry that dish of Porridge to *William*, and to tell him that he should have some Meat sent to him presently." The Butler carried the Porridge into the Chamber with a Napkin, and Spoon, and Bread, and spoke kindly to the young Man; who was willing to be eating.

The King is
known to the
Butler of the
House.

The Butler looking narrowly upon him, fell upon his Knees, and with tears told him, "he was glad to see his Majesty." The King was infinitely surprised, yet recollected himself enough to laugh at the Man, to ask him "what he meant?" The Man had been Falconer to Sir *Thomas Jermyn*, and made it appear that he knew well enough to whom he spoke, repeating some particulars, which the King had not forgot. Whereupon the King conjured him "not to speak of what he knew, so much as to his Master, though he believed him a very honest Man." The fellow promised, and kept his word; and the King was the better waited upon during the time of his abode there.

Dr. *Gorges*, the King's Chaplain, being a Gentleman of good Family near that place, and allied to Mr. *Norton*, supped with them, and being a Man of a cheerful Conversation, asked Mrs. *Lane* many questions concerning *William*, of whom he saw she was so careful by sending up Meat to him "how long his

“ Ague had been gone? and whether he had purged
 “ since it left him? and the like;” to which she gave
 such Answers as occurred. The Doctor, from the final
 prevalence of the Parliament, had, as many others of
 that function had done, declined his Profession, and
 pretended to study Physic. As soon as Supper was
 done, out of good Nature, and without telling any
 Body, he went to see *William*. The King saw him
 coming into the Chamber, and withdrew to the inside
 of the bed, that he might be farthest from the Candle,
 and the Doctor came, and sat down by him, felt his
 pulse, and asked him many questions, which he an-
 swered in as few words as was possible, and expressing
 great inclination to go to his bed; to which the Doctor
 left him, and went to Mrs. *Lane*, and told her, “ that
 “ he had been with *William*, and that he would do
 “ well;” and advised her, what she should do if his
 Ague returned. The next Morning, the Doctor went
 away, so that the King saw him no more. The next
 day the Lord *Wilmot* came to the House with his
 Hawk, to see Mrs. *Lane*, and so conferred with
William; who was to consider what he was to do.
 They thought it necessary to rest some days, till they
 were informed what Port lay most convenient for
 them, and what Person lived nearest to it, upon whose
 fidelity they might rely: and the King gave him
 directions to inquire after some Persons, and some
 other particulars, of which when he should be fully
 instructed, he should return again to him. In the mean
 time, *Wilmot* lodged at a House not far from Mr.
Norton's, to which he had been recommended.

After some days stay here, and Communication

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between the King and the Lord *Wilmot* by Letters, the King came to know that Colonel *Francis Windham* lived within little more than a day's Journey of the place where he was; of which he was very glad; for besides the inclination he had to his elder Brother, whose Wife had been his Nurse, this Gentleman had behaved himself very well during the War, and had been Governor of *Dunstar* - Castle, where the King had lodged when he was in the West. After the end of the War, and when all other places were Surrendered in that County, He likewise Surrendered That, upon fair Conditions, and made his Peace, and afterwards married a Wife with a competent Fortune, and lived quietly, without any suspicion of having lessened his affection towards the King.

The King sent *Wilmot* to him, and acquainted him where he was, and "that he would gladly speak with him." It was not hard for him to chuse a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed. After the King had taken his leave of Mrs. *Lane*, who remained with her Cousin *Norton*, the King, and the Lord *Wilmot*, met the Colonel; and, in the way, he met in a Town, through which they passed, Mr. *Kirton*, a Servant of the King's, who well knew the Lord *Wilmot*, who had no other disguise than the Hawk, but took no Notice of him, nor suspected the King to be there; yet that day made the King more wary of having him in his Company upon the Way. At the place of meeting, they rested only one Night, and then the King went to the Colonel's House; where he rested many days, whilst the Colonel projected at what place the King might Embark, and how

The King
goes to Colonel
Francis
Windham's
House.

they might procure a Vessel to be ready there; which was not easy to find; there being so great a fear possessing those who were honest, that it was hard to procure any Vessel that was outward-bound to take in any Passenger.

There was a Gentleman, one Mr. *Ellison*, who lived near *Lyme* in *Dorset-shire*, and was well known to Colonel *Windham*, having been a Captain in the King's Army, and was still looked upon as a very honest Man. With him the Colonel consulted, how they might get a Vessel to be ready to take in a couple of Gentlemen, friends of his, who were in danger to be arrested, and Transport them into *France*. Though no Man would ask who the Persons were, yet it could not but be suspected who they were, at least they concluded, that it was some of *Worcester-Party*. *Lyme* was generally as malicious and disaffected a Town to the King's Interest, as any Town in *England* could be: yet there was in it a Master of a Bark, of whose honesty this Captain was very confident. This Man was lately returned from *France*, and had unladen his Vessel, when *Ellison* asked him, "when he would make another Voyage?" and he answered, "as soon as he could get Lading for his Ship." The other asked, "whether he would undertake to carry over a couple of Gentlemen, and land them in *France*, if he might be as well paid for his Voyage as he used to be when he was freighted by the Merchants. In conclusion, he told him, he should receive fifty pounds for his Fare:" the large recompence had that effect, that the Man undertook it; though he said "he must make his provision very secretly; for that he might

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“ be well suspected for going to Sea again without being freighted, after he was so newly returned.” Colonel *Windham*, being advertised of this, came together with the Lord *Wilmot* to the Captain’s House, from whence the Lord and the Captain rid to a House near *Lyme*; where the Master of the Bark met them; and the Lord *Wilmot* being satisfied with the discourse of the Man, and his wariness in foreseeing Suspicions, which would arise, it was resolved that on such a Night which, upon consideration of the Tides, was agreed upon, the Man should draw out his Vessel from the Peer, and being at Sea, should come to such a point about a Mile from the Town, where his Ship should remain upon the Beach when the Water was gone; which would take it off again about break of day the next Morning. There was very near that point, even in the view of it, a small Inn, kept by a Man who was reputed honest, to which the Cavaliers of the Country often resorted; and *London*-road passed that way; so that it was seldom without Company. Into that Inn the two Gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the Night, that they might put themselves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earnest given to the Master, the Lord *Wilmot* and the Colonel returned to the Colonel’s House, above a day’s Journey from the place, the Captain undertaking every day to look that the Master should provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the Colonel notice at such a place, where they intended the King should be the day before he was to Embark.

Thence he is

The King, being satisfied with these preparations,

came, at the time appointed, to that House where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he received assurance from the Captain; who found that the Man had honestly put his Provisions on Board, and had his Company ready, which were but four Men; and that the Vessel should be drawn out that Night: so that it was fit for the two Persons to come to the aforesaid Inn, and the Captain conducted them within sight of it; and then went to his own House, not distant a mile from it; the Colonel remaining still at the House where they had lodged the Night before, till he might hear the news of their being Embarked.

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brought to an Inn near Lyme; and a Ship hired by Captain Ellison.

They found many Passengers in the Inn; and so were to be contented with an ordinary Chamber, which they did not intend to sleep long in. But as soon as there appeared any light, *Wilmot* went out to discover the Bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the Sun arose, and nothing like a Ship in view. They sent to the Captain, who was as much amazed; and He sent to the Town; and his Servant could not find the Master of the Bark, which was still in the Peer. They suspected the Captain, and the Captain suspected the Master. However, it being past ten of the Clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to stay longer there, and so they mounted their Horses again to return to the House where they had left the Colonel, who, they knew, resolved to stay there till he were assured that they were gone.

The Ship failed by an accident; and the King left the Inn.

The truth of the disappointment was this; the Man meant honestly, and made all things ready for his departure; and the Night he was to go out with his

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Vessel, he had stayed in his own House, and slept two or three hours, and the time of the Tide being come, that it was necessary to be on Board, he took out of a Cupboard some Linen, and other things, which he used to carry with him to Sea. His Wife had observed, that he had been for some days fuller of thoughts than he used to be, and that he had been speaking with Seamen, who used to go with him, and that some of them had carried provisions on Board the Bark; of which she had asked her Husband the reason; who had told her, "that he was promised freight speedily, and therefore he would make all things ready." She was sure that there was yet no lading in the Ship, and therefore, when she saw her Husband take all those Materials with him, which was a sure sign that he meant to go to Sea, and it being late in the Night, she shut the door, and swore he should not go out of his House. He told her, "he must go, and was engaged to go to Sea that Night; for which he should be well paid." His Wife told him, "she was sure he was doing somewhat that would undo him, and she was resolved he should not go out of his House; and if he should persist in it, she would tell the Neighbours, and carry him before the Mayor to be examined, that the truth might be found out." The poor Man, thus Mastered by the passion and violence of his Wife, was forced to yield to her, that there might be no farther noise; and so went into his bed.

And it was very happy that the King's jealousy hastened him from that Inn. It was the solemn Fast-Day, which was observed in those times principally to enflame the People against the King, and all those

who were Loyal to him, and there was a Chapel in that Village over against that Inn, where a Weaver, who had been a Soldier, used to Preach, and utter all the Villany imaginable against the old Order of Government: and he was then in the Chapel Preaching to his Congregation, when the King went from thence, and telling the People “that *Charles Stuart* was lurking somewhere in that “Country, and that they would “merit from God Almighty, if they could find him “out.” The Passengers, who had lodged in the Inn that Night, had, as soon as they were up, sent for a Smith to visit their Horses, it being a hard Frost. The Smith, when he had done what he was sent for, according to the custom of that People, examined the feet of the other two Horses to find more work. When he had observed them, he told the Host of the House, “that one of those Horses had travelled far; and that “he was sure that his four Shoes had been made in “four several Counties;” which, whether his skill was able to discover or no, was very true. The Smith going to the Sermon told this story to some of his Neighbours; and so it came to the Ears of the Preacher, when his Sermon was done. Immediately he sent for an Officer, and searched the Inn, and inquired for those Horses; and being informed that they were gone, he caused Horses to be sent to follow them, and to make inquiry after the two Men who rid those Horses, and positively declared “that one of them was “*Charles Stuart*.”

Like to be
discovered by
a Smith
shooing their
Horses.

When they came again to the Colonel, they presently concluded that they were to make no longer stay in those parts, nor any more to endeavour to find

B O O K XIII. a Ship upon that Coast; and without any farther delay, they rode back to the Colonel's House; where they arrived in the night. Then they resolved to make their next attempt in *Hampshire*, and *Suffex*, where Colonel *Windham* had no Interest. They must pass through all *Wiltshire* before they came thither; which would require many days Journey: and they were first to consider what honest Houses there were in or near the way, where they might securely repose; and it was thought very dangerous for the King to ride through any great Town, as *Salisbury*, or *Winchester*, which might probably lie in their way.

The King goes
back to the
Colonel's
House.

The King
sends Wilmot
for Robert
Philips.

There was between that and *Salisbury* a very honest Gentleman, Colonel *Robert Philips*, a younger Brother of a very good Family, which had always been very Loyal; and he had served the King during the War. The King was resolved to trust him; and so sent the Lord *Wilmot* to a place from whence he might send to Mr. *Philips* to come to him, and when he had spoken with him, Mr. *Philips* should come to the King, and *Wilmot* was to stay in such a place as they two should agree. Mr. *Philips* accordingly came to the Colonel's House; which he could do without suspicion, they being nearly allied. The ways were very full of Soldiers; which were sent now from the Army to their Quarters, and many Regiments of Horse and Foot were assigned for the West; of which division *Desborough* was Commander in chief. These marches were like to last for many days, and it would not be fit for the King to stay so long in that place. Thereupon, he resorted to his old Security of taking a Woman behind him, a Kinswoman of Colonel

Windham, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from *Salisbury*; to which Colonel *Philips* conducted him. In this Journey he passed through the middle of a Regiment of Horse; and presently after, met *Desborough* walking down a Hill three or four Men with him; who had lodged in *Salisbury* the night before; all that Road being full of Soldiers.

The next day, upon the Plains, Dr. *Hinchman*, one of the Prebends of *Salisbury*, met the King, the Lord *Wilmot* and *Philips* then leaving him to go to the Sea-Coast to find a Vessel, the Dr. conducting the King to a place called *Heale*, three miles from *Salisbury*, belonging then to Serjeant *Hyde*, who was afterwards Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, and then in the possession of the Widow of his elder Brother; a House that stood alone from Neighbours, and from any high-way; where coming in late in the Evening, he supped with some Gentlemen who accidentally were in the House; which could not well be avoided. But, the next Morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his Journey; and the Widow, being trusted with the knowledge of her Guest, sent her Servants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, received him again, and accommodated him in a little Room, which had been made since the beginning of the Troubles for the concealment of Delinquents, the Seat always belonging to a Malignant Family.

Dr. Hinchman
meets the
King on the
Plains; and
conducts him
to Heale Mrs.
Hyde's House.

Here he lay concealed, without the knowledge of some Gentlemen, who lived in the House, and of others who daily resorted thither, for many days, the Widow herself only attending him with such things as were necessary, and bringing him such Letters as

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XIII.

Thence to a
house in Suffex
near Bright-
hemsted ;
where a Bark
was provided
by Colonel
Gunter.

He arrives in
Normandy
in a small
Creek in
Novemb.

the Doctor received from the Lord *Wilmot*, and Colonel *Philips*. A Vessel being at last provided upon the coast of *Suffex*, and notice thereof sent to Dr. *Hinchman*, he sent to the King to meet him at *Stonehenge* upon the Plains three Miles from *Heale*; whither the Widow took care to direct him ; and being there met, he attended him to the place where Colonel *Philips* received him. He, the next day, delivered him to the Lord *Wilmot*; who went with him to a House in *Suffex*, recommended by Colonel *Gunter*, a Gentleman of that Country, who had served the King in the War; who met him there; and had provided a little Bark at *Bright-hemsted*, a small Fisher-Town; where he went early on Board, and by God's Blessing; arrived safely in *Normandy*.

The Earl of *Southampton*, who was then at his House at *Titchfield* in *Hampshire*, had been advertised of the King's being in the West, and of his missing his passage at *Lyme*, and sent a trusty Gentleman to those faithful Persons in the Country, who, he thought, were most like to be employed for his Escape if he came into those parts, to let them know, " that he " had a Ship ready, and, if the King came to him, he " should be safe;" which advertisement came to the King the Night before he Embarked, and when his Vessel was ready. But his Majesty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindness, he being the only Person of that Condition, who had the Courage to solicit such danger, though all good Men heartily wished his deliverance. It was in *November*, that the King landed in *Normandy*, in a small Creek; from whence he got to *Rouen*, and then gave notice to the

Queen of his arrival, and freed his Loyal Subjects in all places from their dismal Apprehensions.

Though this wonderful deliverance and preservation of the Person of the King, was an Argument of general Joy and Comfort to all his good Subjects, and a new seed of hope for future Blessings, yet his present Condition was very deplorable, *France* was not at all pleased with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The Queen his Mother was very glad of his Escape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his Support; they who had Interest with her, finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited Expence. Besides, the distraction that Court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her Pension to be paid with less punctuality than it had used to be; so that she was forced to be in debt both to her Servants, and for the very Provisions of her House; nor had the King one shilling towards the Support of Himself, and his Family.

As soon as his Majesty came to *Paris*, and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at *Antwerp*, he commanded *Seymour*, who was of his Bed-Chamber, to send to him to repair thither; which whilst he was providing to do, Mr. *Long*, the King's Secretary, who was at *Amsterdam*, and had been removed from his Attendance in *Scotland* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, writ to the Chancellor, "that he had received
 " a Letter from the King, by which he was required
 " to let all his Majesty's Servants who were in those
 " parts, know, it was his pleasure that none of them
 " should repair to him to *Paris*, until they should

The King sends
to the Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer to
repair to him
at Paris.

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The Chancel-
lor of the Ex-
chequer comes
to him in
Christmas at
Paris.

Where he
receives from
the King this
Account of his
Majesty's Deli-
verance.

“ receive farther order, since his Majesty could not
 “ yet resolve how long he should stay there: of
 “ which,” Mr. *Long* said, “ he thought it his duty
 “ to give him notice; with this, that the Lord *Cole-*
 “ *pepper* and himself, who had resolved to have made
 “ haste thither, had in obedience to this command
 “ laid aside that purpose.” The Chancellor conclu-
 ded that this inhibition concerned not Him, since he
 had received a command from the King to wait upon
 him. Besides, he had still the Character of Ambassador
 upon him, which he could not lay down till he had
 kissed his Majesty’s hand. So he pursued his former
 purpose, and came to *Paris* in the *Christmas*, and found
 that the command to Mr. *Long* had been procured
 with an eye principally upon the Chancellor, there
 being some there who had no mind he should be
 with the King; though, when there was no remedy,
 the Queen received him graciously. But the King
 was very well pleased with his being come; and, for
 the first four or five days, he spent many hours with
 him in private, and informed him of very many par-
 ticulars, of the harsh treatment he had received in
Scotland, the reason of his march into *England*, the
 confusion at *Worcester*, and all the circumstances of
 his happy escape and deliverance; many parts where-
 of are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly
 true. For besides all those particulars which the King
 himself was pleased to Communicate to him, so soon
 after the Transactions of them, when they had made
 so lively an impression in his memory, and of which
 the Chancellor at that time kept a very punctual
 Memorial; he had, at the same time, the daily con-

versation of the Lord *Wilmot*; who informed him of all he could remember: and sometimes the King and He recollected many particulars in the discourse together, in which the King's memory was much better than the other's. And after the King's blessed return into *England*, he had frequent conferences with many of those who had acted several parts towards the Escape; whereof some were of the Chancellor's nearest Alliance, and others his most intimate Friends; towards whom his Majesty always made many gracious expressions of his acknowledgment: so that there is nothing in this short relation the verity whereof can justly be suspected, though, as is said before, it is great pity, that there could be no Diary made, indeed no exact Account of every Hour's adventure from the coming out of *Worcester*, in that dismal confusion, to the hour of his Embarkation at *Brighthelmsted*; in which there was such a concurrence of good-nature-charity, and generosity, in Persons of the meanest and lowest extraction and condition, who did not know the value of the precious Jewel that was in their Custody, yet all knew him to be escaped from such an Action as would make the discovery and delivery of him to those who governed over and amongst them, of great benefit, and present advantage to them; and in those who did know him, of such Courage, Loyalty, and Activity, that all may reasonably look upon the whole, as the inspiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifestation of his Power and Glory, and for the conviction of the whole Party, which had sinned so grievously; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath rendered them the more inexcusable.

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As the greatest Brunt of the danger was diverted by these poor People, in his Night-marches on foot, with so much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his Life, before he fell into the hands of Persons of better Quality, and places of more conveniency, so he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of some Ecclesiastical Persons of the Romish persuasion; especially to those of the Order of St. *Bennet*; which was the reason that he expressed more favors, after his Restoration, to that Order than to any other, and granted them some extraordinary Privileges about the Service of the Queen, not concealing the reason why he did so; which ought to have satisfied all Men, that his Majesty's indulgence towards all of that profession, by restraining the severity and rigor of the Laws which had been formerly made against them, had its rise from a Fountain of Princely justice and gratitude, and of Royal bounty and clemency.

The Affairs of
Ireland at this
time.

Whilst the Counsels and Enterprises in *Scotland* and *England*, had this woeful issue, *Ireland* had no better Success in its Undertakings. *Cromwell* had made so great a Progress in his Conquests, before he left that Kingdom to visit *Scotland*, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely possessed of the two most valuable, and best inhabited Provinces, *Leinster*, and *Munster*; and plainly discerned, that what remained to be done, if dexterously conducted, would be with most ease brought to pass by the folly, and perfidiousness of the *Irish* themselves; who would save their Enemies a labor, in contributing to, and hastening their own destruction. He had made the
Bridge

Bridge fair, easy, and safe for them to pass over into foreign Countries, by Levies and Transportations, which liberty they embraced, as hath been said before, with all imaginable greediness: and he had entertained Agents, and Spies, as well Friars, as others amongst the *Irish*, who did not only give him timely advertisements of what was concluded to be done, but had interest and power enough to interrupt, and disturb the consultations, and to obstruct the execution thereof: and having put all things in this hopeful Method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more use of the Halter than the Sword, he committed the managing of the rest, and the Government of the Kingdom, to his Son in Law *Ireton*; whom he made Deputy under him of *Ireland*: a Man, who knew the bottom of all his Counsels and Purposes, and was of the same, or a greater pride and fierceness in his Nature, and most inclined to pursue those Rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And He, without fighting a Battle, though he lived not many Months after, reduced most of the rest that *Cromwell* left unfinished.

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Ireton made
Lord Deputy
by *Cromwell*.

The Marquis of *Ormond* knew, and understood well the desperate condition and state he was in, when he had no other strength and power to depend upon, than that of the *Irish*, for the support of the King's Authority: yet there were many of the Nobility, and principal Gentry of the *Irish*, in whose Loyalty towards the King, and Affection and Friendship towards his own Person, he had justly all confidence; and there were amongst the Romish Clergy some moderate Men, who did detest the savage

The Marquis
of *Ormond*'s
condition
there.

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ignorance of the rest: so that he entertained still some hope, that the Wiser would by degrees convert the weaker, and that they would all understand how inseparable their own preservation and interest was from the support of the King's Dignity and Authority, and that the wonderful Judgments of God, which were every day executed by *Ireton* upon the principal, and most obstinate Contrivers of their odious Rebellion, and who perversely and peevishly opposed their return to their obedience to the King, as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their Sottish Lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their Nation. For there was scarce a Man, whose bloody and brutish behaviour in the beginning of the Rebellion, or whose barbarous Violation of the Peace that had been consented to, had exempted them from the King's mercy, and left them only Subjects of his Justice, as soon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by *Ireton*, and hanged with all the circumstances of Severity that was due to their wickedness; of which innumerable Examples might be given.

There yet remained free from *Cromwell's* Yoke, the two large Provinces of *Connaught* and of *Ulster*, and the two strong Cities of *Limrick* and of *Galloway*, both Garrisoned with *Irish*, and excellently supplied with all things necessary for their defence, and many other good Port-Towns, and other strong places; all which pretended and professed to be for the King, and to yield obedience to the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Majesty's Lieutenant. And there were still many good Regiments of Horse and Foot together under

Preston, who seemed to be ready to perform any Service the Marquis should require: so that he did reasonably hope, that by complying with some of their humors, by Sacrificing somewhat of his Honor, and much of his Authority, to their jealousy and peevishness, he should be able to draw such a strength together, as would give a stop to *Ireton's* Career. *O Neile* at this time, after he had been so baffled and affronted by the Parliament, and after he had seen his bosom-Friend, and sole Counsellor, the Bishop of *Clogher* (who had managed the Treaty with *Monk*, and was taken Prisoner upon the defeat of his Forces) hanged, drawn, and quartered as a Traytor, sent “to offer his Service to the Marquis of *Ormond* with
“the Army under his Command, upon such conditions as the Marquis thought fit to send to him;” and it was reasonably believed that he did intend very sincerely and would have done very good Service; for he was the best Soldier of the Nation, and had the most command over his Men, and was best obeyed by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant, he fell sick; and, in a few days, died: so that that Treaty produced no effect; for though many of his Army prosecuted his resolution, and joined with the Marquis of *Ormond*, yet their Officers had little power over their Soldiers; who, being all of the old *Irish* Septs of *Ulster*, were entirely governed by the Friars, and were shortly after prevailed upon, either to Transport themselves, or to retire to their Bogs, and prey for themselves upon all they met, without distinction of Persons or Interest.

Owen Row
O Neile died,
as he was
going to join
with the
Marquis of
Ormond.

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The Marquis' Orders for drawing the Troops together to any Rendezvous, were totally neglected and disobeyed; and the Commissioners Orders for the collection of Money, and contribution in such proportions as had been settled and agreed unto, were as much contemned: so that such Regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were as soon dissolved for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or else dispersed by the power of the Friars; as in the City of *Limrick*, when the Marquis was there, and had appointed several Companies to be drawn into the Market-place, to be employed upon a present Expedition, an Officer of good Affections, and thought to have much credit with his Soldiers, brought with him two hundred very likely Soldiers well armed, and disciplined, and having received his Orders from the Marquis (who was upon the place) begun to march; when a Franciscan Friar in his habit, and with a Crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the Company, and commanded them all, "upon pain of damnation, that they should not march:" upon which they all threw down their Arms, and did as the Friar directed them; who put the whole City into a Mutiny: insomuch as the Lord Lieutenant was compelled to go out of it, and not without some difficulty escaped; though most of the Magistrates of the City did all that was in their power to suppress the disorder, and to reduce the People to obedience; and some of them were killed, and many wounded in the Attempt. As an Instance of those judgments from Heaven which we lately mentioned in general, *Patrick Fanning*, who with

A Mutiny
in Limrick,
whence the
Marquis
of Ormond
escaped.

the Friar had the principal part in that Sedition, the very next Night after *Ireton* was possessed of that strong City, was apprehended, and the next day hanged, drawn, and quartered. Such of the Commissioners as adhered firmly to the Lord Lieutenant, in using all their power to advance the King's Service, and to reduce their miserable Country-men from effecting, and contriving their own destruction, were without any credit, and all their Warrants and Summons neglected; when the others, who declined the Service, and desired to obstruct it, had all respect and submission paid to them.

They who appeared, after the first misfortune before *Dublin*, to corrupt, and mislead, and dishearten the People, were the Friars, and some of their inferior Clergy. But now the titular Bishops, who had been all made at *Rome* since the beginning of the Rebellion, appeared more active than the other. They called an Assembly of the Bishops (every one of which had signed the Articles of the Peace) and chose some of their Clergy as a Representative of their Church to meet at *James-Town*; where, under the pretence of providing for the security of Religion, they examined the whole proceedings of the War, and how the Monies which had been collected, had been issued out. They called the giving up the Towns in *Munster* by the Lord *Inchiquin's* Officers, "the Conspiracy and Treachery of all the *English*, out of their malice to the Catholic-Religion;" and thereupon pressed the Lord Lieutenant to dismiss all the *English* Gentlemen who yet remained with him. They called every unprosperous Accident that had

The Popish Bishops make an Assembly, and publish a Declaration against the English.

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They declare
to the Lord
Lieutenant
they will no
longer submit
to him, and
require him to
commit the
Government
to a Roman-
Catholic.

fallen out, “a foul Miscarriage; and published a Declaration full of libellous Invectives against the *English*, without sparing the Person of the Lord Lieutenant; who, they said, “being of a contrary Religion, and a known inveterate Enemy to the Catholic, was not fit to be intrusted with the conduct of “a War that was raised for the support, and preservation of it;” and shortly after sent an Address to the Lord Lieutenant himself, in which they told him, “that the People were so far unsatisfied with his conduct, especially for his aversion from the Catholic Religion, and his favoring Heretics, that they “were unanimously resolved, as one Man, not to “submit any longer to his Command, nor to raise any more Money, or Men, to be applied to the “King’s Service under his Authority. But, on the “other side, they assured him, that their Duty and “Zeal was so entire, and real for the King, and their “Resolution so absolute never to withdraw themselves from his Obedience, that, if he would depart the Kingdom, and commit the Command “thereof into the hands of any Person of Honor of “the Catholic Religion, he would thereby unite the “whole Nation to the King; and they would immediately raise an Army that should drive *Ireton* “quickly again into *Dublin*,” and that the Lord Lieutenant might know that they would not depart from this determination, they published soon after an Excommunication against all Persons who should obey any of the Lieutenant’s Orders, or raise Money or Men by virtue of his Authority.

During all these Agitations, many of the Roman-

Catholic Nobility, and other Persons of the best Quality, remained very faithful to the Lord Lieutenant; and cordially interposed with the Popish Bishops to prevent their violent proceedings; but had not power either to persuade, or restrain them. The Lord Lieutenant had no reason to be delighted with his empty Title to Command a People who would not Obey, and knew the daily danger he was in, of being betrayed, and delivered into the hands of *Ireton*, or being Assassinated in his own Quarters. And though he did not believe that the *Irish* would behave themselves with more Fidelity, and Courage for the King's Interest, when he should be gone; well knowing that their Bishops and Clergy designed nothing but to put themselves under the Government of some Popish Prince, and had at that time sent Agents into Foreign Parts for that purpose; yet he knew likewise that there were in truth Men enough, and Arms, and all Provisions for the carrying on the War, who, if they were united, and heartily resolved to preserve themselves, would be much superior in number to any power *Ireton* could bring against them. He knew likewise, that he could safely deposite the King's Authority in the hands of a Person of unquestionable Fidelity, whom the King would, without any scruple, trust, and whom the *Irish* could not except against, being of their own Nation, of the greatest Fortune and Interest amongst them, and of the most eminent Constancy to the Roman-Catholic Religion of any Man in the three Kingdoms; and that was the Marquis of *Glanricard*. And therefore, since it was to no purpose to stay longer there himself,

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and it was in his power safely to make the experiment, whether the *Irish* would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they so solemnly promised to do, he thought he should be inexcusable to the King, if he should not consent to that Expedient. The great difficulty was to persuade the Marquis of *Clanricard* to accept the trust, who was a Man, though of an unquestionable Courage, yet, of an infirm Health; and loved, and enjoyed great ease throughout his whole Life; and of a Constitution not equal to the fatigue, and distresses, that the conducting such a War must subject him to. He knew well, and exceedingly detested, the levity, inconstancy, and infidelity of his Country-men: nor did he in any degree like the presumption of the Popish Bishops, and Clergy, and the Exorbitant Power which they had assumed, and usurped to themselves; and therefore he had no mind to engage himself in such a Command. But by the extraordinary importunity of the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom he had preserved a fast and unshaken Friendship, and his pressing him to preserve *Ireland* to the King, without which it would throw itself into the Arms of a Foreigner; and then the same importunity from all the *Irish* Nobility, Bishops, and Clergy (after the Lord Lieutenant had informed them of his purpose) “that he would preserve his Nation, which, without his Acceptance of their Protection, would infallibly be extirpated,” and their joint promise “that they would absolutely submit to all his Commands, and hold no assembly, or meeting amongst themselves, without his Permission and Commis-

“ fion,” together with his unquestionable desire to do any thing, how contrary soever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the King, and might possibly bring some advantage to his Majesty’s Service, he was in the end prevailed upon to receive a Commission from the Lord Lieutenant to be Deputy of *Ireland*, and undertook that Charge.

B O O K
XIII.

The Marquis
of Ormond
makes the
Marquis of
Clanricard
his Deputy.

How well they complied afterwards with their promises, and protestations, and how much better Subjects they proved to be under their Catholic Governor, than they had been under their Protestant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the Marquis of *Ormond* would not receive a Pass from *Ireton*, who would willingly have granted it, as he did to all the *English* Officers that desired it; but Embarked himself, with some few Gentlemen besides his own Servants, in a small Frigate, and arrived safely in *Normandy*; and so went to *Caen*; where his Wife and Family had remained from the time of his departure thence. This was shortly after the King’s defeat at *Worcester*, and, as soon as his Majesty arrived at *Paris*, he forthwith attended him, and was most welcome to him.

The Marquis
of Ormond
embarks for
France, and
waits on the
King at *Paris*
after his Ma-
jesty’s escape
from *Wor-*
cester.

Scotland being subdued, and *Ireland* reduced to that Obedience as the Parliament could wish, nothing could be expected to be done in *England* for the King’s advantage. From the time that *Cromwell* was chosen General in the place of *Fairfax*, he took all occasions to discountenance the Presbyterians, and to put them out of all Trust and Employment, as well in the Country as in the Army; and, whilst he was

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Love, a
Presbyterian
Minister,
executed.

in *Scotland*, he had intercepted some Letters from one *Love*, a Presbyterian Minister in *London* (a fellow who hath been mentioned before, in the time the Treaty was at *Uxbridge*, for Preaching against Peace) to a leading Preacher in *Scotland*; and sent such an information against him, with so many successive Instances that Justice might be exemplarily done upon him, that, in spite of all the opposition which the Presbyterians could make, who appeared publicly with their utmost power, the Man was Condemned and Executed upon *Tower-hill*. And to show their impartiality, about the same time they Executed *Brown Bushel*, who had formerly served the Parliament in the beginning of the Rebellion, and shortly after served the King to the end of the War, and had lived some years in *England* after the War expired, untaken notice of, but, upon this occasion, was enviously discovered, and put to death.

It is a wonderful thing what operations this Presbyterian Spirit had upon the minds of those who were possessed by it. This poor Man *Love*, who had been guilty of as much Treason against the King, from the beginning of the Rebellion, as the Pulpit could contain, was so much without remorse for any wickedness of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing so much, as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his Affection to the King. And therefore when he was upon the Scaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous undauntedness, he seemed so much delighted with the memory of all that he had done against the late King, and against the Bishops, that he could not

even then forbear to speak with Animosity and Bitterness against both, and expressed great satisfaction in mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a Martyr, and to give testimony for the Covenant; "whatsoever he had done being in the pursuit of the ends," he said, "of that Sanctified Obligation, to which he was in and by his Conscience engaged." And in this raving fit, without so much as praying for the King, otherwise than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his Head upon the block with as much Courage as the bravest, and honestest Man could do in the most Pious occasion.

When *Cromwell* returned to *London*, he caused several High-Courts of Justice to be erected, by which many Gentlemen of Quality were Condemned, and Executed in many parts of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*, who had been taken Prisoners at *Worcester*, or discovered to have been there. And that the Terror might be universal, some suffered for loose discourses in Taverns, what they would do towards Restoring the King, and others for having blank Commissions found in their hands signed by the King, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appeared, intended to do. And under these desolate apprehensions all the Royal and Loyal Party lay groveling, and prostrate, after the defeat of *Worcester*.

Cromwell
causes several
High Courts
of Justice to
be erected.

There was at this time with the King the Marquis of *Ormond*; who came thither before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though his Majesty was now in

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The King's
necessities at
Paris.

unquestionable safety, the straits and necessities he was in were as unquestionable; which exposed him to all the troubles and uneasiness that the Masters of very indigent Families are subjected to; and the more because all Men considered only his Dignity, and not his Fortune: so that Men had the same Emulations, and Ambitions, as if the King had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good Argument for them to ask, because he had nothing to give; and asked very improper Reversions, because he could not grant the Possession; and were solicitous for Honors, which he had power to grant, because he had not Fortunes to give them.

The friendship
between the
Marquis of Or-
mond and the
Chancellor of
the Exchequer.

There had been a great acquaintance between the Marquis of *Ormond*, when he was Lord *Thurles*, in the life of his Grand-father, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was renewed, by a mutual correspondence, when they both came to have shares in the public business, the one in *Ireland*, and the other in *England*: so that when they now met at *Paris*, they met as old Friends, and quickly understood each other so well, that there could not be a more entire confidence between Men. The Marquis consulted with him in his nearest concernments, and the Chancellor esteemed, and cultivated the Friendship with all possible industry and application. The King was abundantly satisfied in the Friendship they had for each other, and trusted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavoured by Persons of no ordinary Account, to break or interrupt that mutual confidence between them, during the whole time the King remained beyond the

Seas; whereby the King's perplexed Affairs were carried on with the less trouble. And the Chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this Friendship was so great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the King's business which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the Trust.

Besides the wants and necessities which the King was pressed with in respect of himself, who had nothing, but was obliged to find himself by credit in Clothes, and all other necessaries for his Person, and of his Family, which he saw reduced to all extremities; he was much disquieted by the necessities in his Brother the Duke of *York's* Family, and by the disorder and faction in it. The Queen complained heavily of Sir *George Ratcliff*, and the Attorney; and more of the first, because that he pretended to some Right of being of the Duke's Family by a Grant of the late King; which his present Majesty determined against him; and reprehended his Activity in the last Summer. Sir *John Berkeley* had most of the Queen's favor; and though he had at that time no Interest in the Duke's Affection, he found a way to ingratiate himself with his Royal Highness, by insinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foresaw advantage to himself. Though no Man acted the Governor's part more Imperiously than He had done whilst the Lord *Byron* was absent, finding that he himself was liable in some degree to be governed upon that Lord's return, he had used all the ways he could, that the Duke might be exempted from any Subjection to a Governor, presuming, that, when that Title should

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York's Family.

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be extinguished, he should be possessed of some such Office and Relation, as should not be under the Control of any but the Duke himself. But he had not yet been able to bring that to pass; which was the reason that he stayed at *Paris* when his Highness visited *Flanders* and *Holland*. Now he took advantage of the Activity of the Duke's Spirit, and infused into him, "that it would be for his Honor to put himself into Action, and not to be learning his Exercises in *Paris* whilst the Army was in the Field:" a Proposition first intimated by the Cardinal, "that the Duke was now of years to learn his *métier*, and had now the opportunity to improve himself, by being in the care of a General reputed equal to any Captain in *Christendom*, with whom he might learn that Experience, and make those Observations, as might enable him to serve the King his Brother, who must hope to recover his Right only by the Sword." This the Cardinal had said both to the Queen, and to the Lord *Jermyn*, whilst the King was in *Scotland*, when no Man had the hardiness to advise it in that conjuncture. But, after the King's Return from *England*, there wanted nothing but the Approbation of his Majesty; and no Man more desired it than the Lord *Byron*, who had had good Command, and preferred that kind of Life before that which he was obliged to live in at *Paris*. There was no need of Spurs to be employed to incite the Duke; who was most impatient to be in the Army. And therefore Sir *John Berkeley* could not any other way make himself so grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the Duke, "that whosoever opposed

“ it, and dissuaded the King from giving his consent,
“ was an Enemy to his Highness’ Glory, and desired
“ that he should live always in Pupilage;” not omit-
ting to put him in mind, “ that his very entrance into
“ the Army set him at Liberty, and put him into his
“ own disposal; since no Man went into the Field
“ under the direction of a Governor;” still endeavouring to improve his prejudice against those who should either dissuade him from pursuing that Resolution, or endeavour to persuade the King not to approve it; “ which, he told him, could proceed from
“ nothing but want of Affection to his Person.” By this means he hoped to raise a notable dislike in him of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he believed, did not like the design, because he having spoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an Argument that pleased him.

The Duke pressed it with earnestness and passion, in which he dissembled not; and found the Queen, as well as the King, very reserved in the point; which proceeded from their tenderness towards him, and lest they might be thought to be less concerned for his Safety than they ought to be. His Highness then conferred with those, who, he thought, were most like to be consulted with by the King, amongst whom he knew the Chancellor was one; and finding him to speak with less warmth than the rest, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his Highness was confirmed in the jealousy which Sir John Berkeley had kindled in him, that He was the principal Person who obstructed the King’s Condescension. There was at that time no Man with the King, who had been

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The King
appoints a new
Council.

a Counsellor to his Father, or sworn to Himself, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of *Ormond*, though he had administered the Affairs in *Ireland*, was never sworn a Counsellor in *England*; yet his Majesty looked upon him in all respects most fit to advise him; and thought it necessary to form such a Body, as should be esteemed by all Men as his Privy-Council, without whose advise he would take no Resolutions. The King knew the Queen would not be well pleased, if the Lord *Jermyn* were not one; who in all other respects was necessary to that Trust, since all Addresses to the Court of *France* were to be made by him: and the Lord *Wilmot*, who had cultivated the King's Affection during the time of their Peregrination, and drawn many promises from him, and was full of projects for his Service, could not be left out. The King therefore called the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Jermyn*, and the Lord *Wilmot*, to the Council-Board; and declared "that they three, " together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, " should be consulted with in all his Affairs." The Queen very earnestly pressed the King, "that Sir " *John Berkeley* might likewise be made a Counsellor;" which his Majesty would not consent to; and thought he could not refuse the same Honor to the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Byron*, or any other Person who should wait upon him, if he granted it to Sir *John Berkeley*, who had no manner of pretence.

Berkeley took this refusal very heavily, and thought his great parts, and the services he had performed, which were known to very few, might well enough distinguish him from other Men. But because he
would

Sir John
Berkeley
pretends to the
Mastership of
the Wards.

would not be thought without some just pretence which others had not, he very confidently insisted upon a Right he had, by a promise of the late King, to be Master of the Wards; and that Officer had usually been of the Privy-Council. The evidence he had of that promise, was an intercepted Letter from the late King to the Queen, which the Parliament had caused to be printed. In that Letter the King answered a Letter he had received from her Majesty, in which she put him in mind, "that he had promised her to make "*Jack Berkeley*" (which was the Style in the Letter) "Master of the Wards;" which, the King said, "he "wondered at, since he could not remember that she "had ever spoken to him to that purpose; implying "likewise that he was not fit for it. He pressed the "Chancellor of the Exchequer to urge this matter of "Right to the King" (and said, "the Queen would "declare the King had promised it to her) and to prevail with his Majesty to make him presently Master of the Wards; which would give him such a Title to the Board, that others could not take his being "called thither as a prejudice to them."

The Chancellor had at that time much kindness for him, and did really desire to oblige him, but he durst not urge that for a reason to the King, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a Negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For besides that he very well knew the late King had not so good an opinion of Sir *John Berkeley*, as he himself did at that time heartily wish, and endeavour to infuse into him, the King had, after that promise was pretended to be made, granted that Office at *Oxford* to the Lord

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Cottington; who executed it as long as Offices were executed under the Grant of the Crown, and was possessed of the Title to his death. The Chancellor did therefore very earnestly endeavour to dissuade him from making that pretence and demand to the King; and told him, "the King could not at this time do a
" more ungracious thing, that would lose him more
" the hearts and affections of the Nobility and Gentry
" of *England*, than in making a Master of the Wards,
" in a time when it would not be the least Advantage
" to his Majesty or the Officer, to declare that he
" resolved to insist upon that part of his Prerogative
" which his Father had consented to part with; the
" refusing whereof in the full rigor, which he might
" lawfully do, would ruin most of the Estates of *Eng-*
" *land*, as well of his Friends as Enemies, in regard of
" the vast Arrears incurred in so many years; and
" therefore whatever his Majesty might think to
" resolve hereafter, when it should please God to
" restore him, for the present there must be no thought
" of such an Officer.

Sir *John Berkely* was not satisfied at all with the reason that was alledged; and very unsatisfied with the unkindness (as he called it) of the refusal to interpose in it; and said, "since his friends would not, he would
" himself require justice of the King;" and immediately, hearing that the King was in the next Room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the Chancellor's contradiction, pressed his Majesty
" to make good the promise his Father had made;" and magnified the Services he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the

custom of making frequent relations of his own Actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which no body else ever heard of. The King who knew him very well, and believed little of his History, and less of his Father's promise, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a positive denial (which in his Nature his Majesty affected not) lest it might indispose his Mother or his Brother: and so, to every part of his request concerning the being of the Council, and concerning the Office, gave him such reasons against the gratifying him for the present, that he could not but plainly discern that his Majesty was very averse from it. But that consideration prevailed not with him; he used so great importunity, notwithstanding all the reasons which had been alledged, that at the last the King prevailed with himself, which he used not to do in such Cases, to give him a positive denial, and reprehension, at once; and so left him.

The King
denies it him

All this he imputed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have spoken with the King from the time they had spoken together, before himself had that Audience from his Majesty; he declared, "that he
" knew all that Indisposition had been infused by
" him; because many of the reasons, which his Ma-
" jesty had given against his doing what he desired,
" were the very same that the Chancellor had urged
" to him;" though they could not but have occurred to any reasonable Man, who had been called to consult upon that Subject. This passion prevailed so far upon him, that notwithstanding the advice of some of

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Whereupon
Sir John
breaks with
the Chancellor.

Deliberation
in the Council,
whether the
Duke of York
should go into
the French
Army.

The Spring was now advanced, and the Duke of *York* continued his importunity with the King, "that he might have his leave to repair to the Army." And thereupon his Majesty called his Council together, the Queen his Mother, and his Brother, being likewise present. There his Majesty declared "what his Brother had long desired of him; to which he had hitherto given no other Answer, than that he would think of it; and before he could give any other, he thought it necessary to receive their advice:" nor did his Majesty in the least discover what he himself

was inclined to. The Duke then repeated what he had desired of the King ; and said, “ he thought he asked
“ nothing but what became him ; if he did not, he
“ hoped the King would not deny it to him, and that
“ no body would advise he should.” The Queen spoke not a word ; and the King desired the Lords to deliver their opinion ; who all sat silent, expecting who would begin ; there being no fixed Rule of the Board, but sometimes, according to the Nature of the business, he who was first in place begun, at other times he who was last in Quality ; and when it required some debate before any opinion should be delivered, any Man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long silence, the King commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer to speak first. He said, “ it
“ could not be expected, that he would deliver his
“ opinion in a Matter that was so much too hard for
“ him, till he heard what others thought ; at least, till
“ the Question was otherwise stated than it yet seemed
“ to him to be.” He said, “ he thought the Council
“ would not be willing to take it upon Them to
“ advise that the Duke of *York*, the next Heir to the
“ Crown, should go a Volunteer into the *French* Army,
“ and that the exposing himself to so much danger,
“ should be the effect of Their Counsel, who ought
“ to have all possible tenderness for the safety of every
“ Branch of the Royal Family ; but if the Duke of
“ *York*, out of his own Princely courage, and to attain
“ experience in the Art of War, of which there was
“ like to be so great use, had taken a resolution to
“ visit the Army, and to spend that Campaign in it,
“ and that the question only was, whether the King

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“ should restrain him from that Expedition, he was
 “ ready to declare his opinion, that his Majesty
 “ should not; there being great difference between
 “ the King’s advising him to go, which implies an
 “ approbation, and barely suffering him to do what
 “ his own Genius inclined him to.” The King and
 Queen liked the stating of the Question, as suiting
 best with the tenderness they ought to have; and the
 Duke was as well pleased with it, since it left him at
 the Liberty he desired; and the Lords thought it
 safest for Them: and so all were pleased; and much
 of the prejudice which the Duke had entertained to-
 wards the Chancellor, was abated: and his Royal
 Highness, with the good liking of the *French Court*,
 went to the Army; where he was received by the
 Marechal of *Turenne*, with all possible demonstration
 of respect; where, in a short time, he got the reputa-
 tion of a Prince of very signal Courage, and to be
 universally beloved of the whole Army by his affa-
 ble behaviour.

The Duke goes
to the Army.

The Assign-
ation of six
thousand Li-
vres by the
month settled
upon the King
by the French
Court.

The insupportable necessities of the King were now
 grown so notorious, that the *French Court* was com-
 pelled to take notice of them; and thereupon, with
 some dry Compliments for the smallness of the Assign-
 ation in respect of the ill condition of their Affairs,
 which indeed were not in any good posture, they
 settled an Assignation of six thousand Livres by the
 Month upon the King, payable out of such a Gabel;
 which, being to begin six Months after the King came
 thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily
 satisfied out of such a Monthly receipt, though it had
 been punctually complied with; which it never was.

The Queen, at his Majesty's first arrival, had declared, " that she was not able to bear the charge of the King's diet, but that he must pay one half of the expence of her Table, where both their Majesties ate, with the Duke of *York*, and the Princess *Henrietta*" (which two were at the Queen's charge till the King came thither, but from that time, the Duke of *York* was upon the King's Account) and the very first Night's Supper which the King ate with the Queen, begun the Account; and a Moiety thereof was charged to the King: so that the first Money that was received for the King upon his Grant, was entirely stopped by Sir *Harry Wood*, the Queen's Treasurer, for the discharge of his Majesty's part of the Queen's Table (which expence was first satisfied, as often as Money could be procured) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted, at his first coming, for Clothes and other Necessaries, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his Servants; the Marquis of *Ormond* himself being compelled to put himself in Pension, with other Gentlemen, at a Pistole a Week for his diet, and to walk the Streets on foot, which was no honorable custom in *Paris*; whilst the Lord *Jermyn* kept an excellent Table for those who courted him, and had a Coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the King had the most urgent occasion for the Use but of twenty Pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from

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receiving the supply assigned by the King of *France*, his Necessities would not have been so extraordinary. For when the King went to *Jersey* in order to his Journey into *Ireland*, and at the same time that he sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer into *Spain*, he sent likewise the Lord *Colepepper* into *Moscow*, to borrow Money of that Duke; and into *Poland* he sent Mr. *Crofts* upon the same errand. The former returned whilst the King was in *Scotland*; and the latter about the time that his Majesty made his escape from *Worcester*. And both of them succeeded so well in their Journey, that he who received least for his Majesty's Service, had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expense of their Journies.

How the Money was disposed that was sent the King from *Moscow* and *Poland*.

But, as if the King had been out of all possible danger to want Money, the Lord *Jermyn* had sent an Express into *Scotland*, as soon as he knew what success the Lord *Colepepper* had at *Moscow*, and found there were no less hopes from Mr. *Crofts*, and procured from the King (who could with more ease grant, than deny) Warrants under his hand to both those Envoys, to pay the Monies they had received to several Persons; whereof a considerable Sum was made a present to the Queen, more to the Lord *Jermyn*, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminished by that receipt, and all disposed of according to the modesty of the Askers; whereof Dr. *Goffe* had eight hundred pounds for Services he had performed, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his Religion, and became one of the Fathers of the Oration: so that, when the King returned in all that distress to *Paris*, he never received five hundred

Pistoles from the proceed of both those Embassies; nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty, seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed to do him any Service upon their own expence; of which the King was sensible enough, but resolved to bear that and more, rather than, by entering into any Expostulation with those who were faulty, to give any trouble to the Queen.

The Lord *Jermyn*, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to Religion, was always of some Faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the Presbyterians from the time that there had been any Treaties with the *Scots*, in which he had too much privacy. And now, upon the King's Return into *France*, he had a great design to persuade his Majesty to go to the Congregation at *Charenton*, to the end that he might keep up his Interest in the Presbyterian Party; which he had no reason to believe would ever be able to do the King Service, or willing, if they were able, without such odious Conditions as they had hitherto insisted upon in all their Overtures. The Queen did not, in the least degree, oppose this, but rather seemed to countenance it, as the best Expedient that might incline him, by degrees, to prefer the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. For though the Queen had never, to this time, by herself, or by others with her advice, used the least means to persuade the King to change his Religion, as well out of observation of the Injunction laid upon her by the deceased King, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but persuade her that the Change of his Religion

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The Ministers
of Charenton
press the King
to come to
their Church;
and are
seconded by
the Lord
Jermyn.
Dr. Steward
dies presently
after the
King's return
into France.

would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering *England* desperate; yet it is as true, that, from the King's return from *Worcester*, she did really despair of his being restored by the Affections of his own Subjects; and believed that it could never be brought to pass without a Conjunction of Catholic Princes on his behalf, and by an united force to Restore him; and that such a Conjunction would never be entered into, except the King himself became Roman-Catholic. Therefore from this time she was very well content that any Attempts should be made upon him to that purpose; and, in that regard, wished that he would go to *Charenton*; which she well knew was not the Religion he affected, but would be a little discountenance to the Church in which he had been bred; and from which as soon as he could be persuaded in any degree to swerve, he would be more exposed to any other temptation. The King had not positively refused to gratify the Ministers of that Congregation; who, with great professions of Duty had besought him to do them that Honor, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to him; in which it was believed, that they were the more like to prevail by the Death of Dr. *Steward*; for whose judgment in matters of Religion the King had reverence, by the earnest recommendation of his Father: and he died after the King's Return within fourteen days, with some trouble upon the importunity and artifice he saw used to prevail with the King to go to *Charenton*, though he saw no disposition in his Majesty to yield to it.

The Lord *Jermyn* still pressed it, "as a thing that

“ ought in policy and discretion to be done, to re-
 “ concile that People, which was a great Body in
 “ *France*, to the King’s Service, which would draw
 “ to him all the Foreign Churches, and thereby he
 “ might receive considerable Assistance.” He won-
 “ dered, he said, “ why it should be opposed by any
 “ Man; since he did not wish that his Majesty would
 “ discontinue his own Devotions, according to the
 “ course he had always observed; nor propose that
 “ he should often repair thither, but only sometimes,
 “ at least once, to show that he did look upon them
 “ as of the same Religion with him; which the
 “ Church of *England* had always acknowledged;
 “ and that it had been an Instruction to the *English*
 “ Ambassadors, that they should keep a good cor-
 “ respondence with those of the Religion, and fre-
 “ quently resort to Divine Service at *Charenton*;
 “ where they had always a Pew kept for them.”

The Chancellor of the Exchequer dissuaded his
 Majesty from going thither with equal earnestness; The Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer
 told him, “ that, whatever countenance or favor, dissuaded
him from it.
 “ the Crown or Church of *England* had heretofore
 “ showed to those Congregations, it was in a time
 “ when they carried themselves with modesty and
 “ duty towards both, and when they professed great
 “ duty to the King, and much reverence to that
 “ Church; lamenting themselves, that it was not in
 “ their power, by the opposition of the State, to
 “ make their Reformation so perfect as it was in
 “ *England*. And by this kind of behaviour they had
 “ indeed received the Protection and Countenance
 “ from *England*, as if they were of the same Religion,

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“ though, it may be, the Original of that Counte-
“ nance and Protection proceeded from another less
“ warrantable foundation; which he was sure would
“ never find credit from his Majesty. But, whatever
“ it was, that People now had undeserved it from
“ the King; for, as soon as the Troubles begun, the
“ Hugonots of *France* had generally expressed great
“ Malice to the late King, and very many of their
“ Preachers and Ministers had publicly and indus-
“ triously justified the Rebellion, and prayed for the
“ good success of it; and their Synod itself had in
“ such a manner inveighed against the Church of
“ *England*, that they, upon the matter, professed
“ themselves to be of another Religion; and in-
“ veighed against Episcopacy, as if it were inconsist-
“ ent with the Protestant Religion. That one of
“ their great Professors at their University of *Saumur*,
“ who was looked upon as a Man of the most mo-
“ derate spirit amongst their Ministers, had published
“ an Apology for the general inclination of that Party
“ to the proceedings of the Parliament of *England*,
“ lest it might give some jealousy to their own King
“ of their inclination to Rebellion, and of their opi-
“ nion that it was lawful for Subjects to take up
“ Arms against their Prince; which, he said, could
“ not be done in *France* without manifest Rebellion,
“ and incurring the displeasure of God for the mani-
“ fest breach of his Commandments; because the
“ King of *France* is an absolute King, independent
“ upon any other Authority. But that the Constitu-
“ tion of the Kingdom of *England* was of another
“ Nature; because the King there is subordinate to

“ the Parliament, which hath Authority to raise
 “ Arms for the Reformation of Religion, or for the
 “ executing the public Justice of the Kingdom against
 “ all those who violate the Laws of the Nation, so
 “ that the War might be just There, which in no
 “ case could be warrantable in *France*. ”

The Chancellor told the King, “ that, after such
 “ an indignity offered to him, and to his Crown, and
 “ since they had now made such a distinction be-
 “ tween the Episcopal and the Presbyterian Govern-
 “ ment, that they thought the Professors were not of
 “ the same Religion, his going to *Charenton* could
 “ not be without this effect, that it would be con-
 “ cluded every where, that his Majesty thought the
 “ one or the other Profession to be indifferent; which
 “ would be one of the most deadly wounds to the
 “ Church of *England* that it had yet ever suffered.”

These reasons prevailed so far with the King's own
 natural aversion from what had been proposed, that
 he declared positively, “ he would never go to *Cha-*
 “ *renton*; which determination eased him from any
 farther application of that People. The reproach of
 this resolution was wholly charged upon the Chan-
 cellor of the Exchequer, as the implacable Enemy
 of all Presbyterians, and as the only Man who di-
 verted the King from having a good opinion of them;
 whereas in truth, the daily information he received
 from the King himself of their barbarous behaviour
 in *Scotland* towards him, and of their insupportable
 pride and pedantry in their Manners, did confirm
 him in the judgment he had always made of their
 Profession; and he was the more grievous to those

The King
 declared he
 would not go

B O O K of that Profession, because they could not, as they
XIII. used to do all those who opposed and crossed them
in that manner, accuse him of being Popishly affected
and governed by the Papists; to whom they knew
he was equally odious; and the Queen's knowing him
to be most disaffected to her Religion, made her
willing to appear most displeased for his hindering
the King from going to *Charenton*.

There was another Accident, which fell out at this
time, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer
forefaw would exceedingly increase the Queen's pre-
judice to him; which he did very heartily desire to
avoid, and to recover her Majesty's favor by all the
ways he could pursue with his duty; and, in consist-
ence with that, did never, in the least degree, dis-
pose his Majesty to deny any thing to her which she
owned the desire of. Lieutenant-General *Middleton*,
who had been taken Prisoner after *Worcester*-Fight,
after he was recovered of his wounds was sent Pri-
soner to the Tower of *London*; where were likewise
many Noble Persons of that Nation, as the Earl of
Crawford, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and many others.
But as They of the Parliament had a greater regard
for *Middleton* than for any other of that Country,
knowing him to be a Man of great honor and courage,
and much the best Officer the *Scots* had, so they had
a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought
they had him at their Mercy, and might proceed
against him more warrantably for his life, than against
their other Prisoners; because he had heretofore, in
the beginning of the War, served them; and though
he had quitted their Service at the same time when

they cashiered the Earl of *Essex*, and made their new Model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolved to free themselves from any farther apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new High-Court of Justice, for the Trial of some Persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially *Middleton* and *Massey*.

This last, after he had escaped from *Worcester*, and travelled two or three days, found himself so tormented and weakened by his Wounds, that being near the Seat of the Earl of *Stamford*, whose Lieutenant-Colonel he had been in the beginning of the War, and being well known to his Lady, he chose to commit himself to Her rather than to her Husband; hoping, that in honor she would have found some means to preserve him. But the Lady had only charity to cure his Wounds, not courage to conceal his Person; and such Advertisements were given of him, that, as soon as he was fit to be removed the was likewise sent to the Tower, and destined to be sacrificed by a High Court of Justice together with *Middleton*, for the future security of the Common-wealth.

But now the Presbyterian interest showed itself, and doubtless, in enterprizes of this Nature, was very powerful; having in all places Persons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their Orders, though they did not pretend to be of their Party. And the time Approaching that they were sure *Middleton* was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him so good and particular Advertisement, that he took his leave of his Friends in the Tower, and made his Escape; and having Friends enough to shelter him in

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Middleton
and *Massey*,
Prisoners in
the Tower,
designed to be
tried by a
High-Court
of Justice.

Middleton
makes his
escape into
France.

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And Massey
escapes.

An account of
Scotland
brought to the
King by a Scot-
tish Vicar that
Middleton
brought with
him.

London, after he had concealed himself there a Fort-
night or three Weeks, that the diligence of the first
examination and inquiry was over, he was safely
Transported into *France*. And within few days after,
Massey had the same good fortune, to the grief and
vexation of the very Soul of *Cromwell*; who thirsted
for the blood of those two Persons.

When *Middleton* came to the King to *Paris*, he
brought with him a little *Scottish* Vicar, who was
known to the King, one Mr. *Knox*, who brought
Letters of credit to his Majesty, and some Proposi-
tions from his Friends in *Scotland*, and other Des-
patches from the Lords in the Tower, with whom
he had conferred after *Middleton* had escaped from
thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was
struck into the hearts of that whole Nation by the
severe proceedings of General *Monk*, to whose care
Cromwell had committed the Reduction of that King-
dom, upon the taking of *Dundee*, where Persons of all
Degrees and Qualities were put to the Sword after the
Town was entered, and all left to plunder; upon which
all other places surrendered. All Men complained
of the Marquis of *Argyle*, who prosecuted the King's
Friends with the utmost malice, and protected and
preserved the rest according to his desire. He gave
the King assurance from the most considerable Per-
sons, who had retired into the High-lands, "that
" they would never swerve from their duty; and
" that they would be able, during the Winter, to
" infest the Enemy by incursions into their Quarters;
" and that, if *Middleton* might be sent to them with
" some Supply of Arms, they would have an Army
" ready

“ ready against the Spring, strong enough to meet
 “ with *Monk*.” He said, “ he was Addressed from
 “ *Scotland* to the Lords in the Tower, who did not
 “ then know that *Middleton* had arrived in safety
 “ with the King; and therefore they had commanded
 “ him, if neither *Middleton*, nor the Lord *Newburgh*
 “ were about his Majesty, that then he should repair
 “ to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and desire him to pre-
 “ sent him to the King; but that, having found both
 “ those Lords there, he had made no farther Appli-
 “ cation than to them, who had brought him to his
 “ Majesty.” He told the King, “ that both those in
 “ *Scotland*, and those in the Tower, made it their
 “ humble request, or rather a condition to his Ma-
 “ jesty; that, except it were granted, they would
 “ no more think of serving his Majesty: the condi-
 “ tion was, that whatever should have relation to
 “ his Service in *Scotland*, and to Their Persons who
 “ were to venture their lives in it, might not be
 “ communicated to the Queen, the Duke of *Buck-*
 “ *ingham*, the Lord *Jermyn*, or the Lord *Wilmot*.
 “ They professed all duty to the Queen, but they
 “ knew she had too good an opinion of the Marquis
 “ of *Argyle*; who would infallibly come to know
 “ whatever was known to either of the other.

The Requests
 to the King of
 his Friends
 there.

The King did not expect that any notable Service
 could be performed by his Friends in *Scotland* for his
 Advantage, or their own Redemption; yet did not
 think it fit to seem to undervalue the Professions, and
 Overtures of those who had, during his being amongst
 them, made all possible demonstration of Affection,
 and Duty to him; and therefore resolved to grant

B O O K any thing they desired ; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the
XIII. Queen, or the other three Lords. But since they proposed present Despatches to be made of Commissions, and Letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that Service. The next day they attended his Majesty again, and desired, “that all matters relating to “ *Scotland* might be consulted by his Majesty with “ the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Newburgh*, and “ the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that all the “ Despatches might be made by the Chancellor;” which the King consented to; and bid the Lord *Newburgh* go with them to him, and let them know his Majesty’s pleasure. And thereupon the Lord *Newburgh* brought *Middleton* to the Chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

The King appoints the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make all Despatches for Scotland.

The Marquis of Ormond’s and the Chancellor’s opinion concerning the King’s Affairs at that time.

The Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, believed that the King had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and carefully avoid doing any thing that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the Amity of Christian Princes, or some such Revolution of Affairs in *England* by their own Discontents, and Divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his Majesty again to show himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the Queen, that without being received into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her Grace and good Acceptation. But the designation of them

to this *Scottish* Intrigue, crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of Peace and Tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes. B O O K
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The Chancellor therefore went presently to the King, and besought him with earnestness, “that he would not lay that Burden upon him, or engage him in any part of the Counsels of that People.” He put his Majesty in mind of “the continued avowed jealousy, and displeasure, which that whole Party in that Nation had ever had against him; and that his Majesty very well knew, that those Noble Persons who served him best when he was in *Scotland*, and in whose Affection and Fidelity he had all possible satisfaction, had some prejudice against him, and would be troubled when they should hear that all their Secrets were committed to Him. He told his Majesty, this Trust would for ever deprive him of all hope of the Queen’s favor; who could not but discern it within three or four days, and, by the frequent resort of the *Scottish* Vicar to him” (who had the Vanity to desire long Conferences with him) “that there was some secret in hand which was kept from Her; and she would as easily discover, that the Chancellor was privy to it, by his reading Papers to his Majesty, and his Signing them; and would from thence conclude, that He had persuaded him to exclude her Majesty from that Trust; which she would never forgive.” Upon the whole, he renewed his importunity, “that he might be excused from this confidence.”

The Chancellor of the Exchequer desires the King not to employ him in the *Scottish* Affairs.

The King heard him with patience and attention The King’s
reply to him.

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enough ; and confessed, “ that he had reason not to
“ be solicitous for that employment ; but he wished
“ him to consider withal , that he must either under-
“ take it, or that his Majesty must in plain terms
“ reject the Correspondence ; which, he said, he
“ thought he would not advise him to do. If his
“ Majesty entertained it, it could not be imagined
“ that all those Transactions could pass through his
“ own hand, or, if they could, his being shut up
“ so long alone ‘would make the same discovery.
“ Whom then should he trust ? The Lord *Newburgh*,
“ it was very true, was a very honest Man, and
“ worthy of any Trust ; but he was not a Counsel-
“ lor, and nothing could be so much wondered at, as
“ his frequent being shut up with him ; and more,
“ his bringing any Papers to him to be signed. As to
“ the general prejudice which he conceived was
“ against him by that Party,” his Majesty told him,
“ the Nation was much altered since he had to do
“ with them, and that no Men were better loved by
“ them now than They who had from the beginning
“ been faithful to his Father, and Himself. To which
“ he added, that *Middleton* had the least in him, of
“ any infirmities most incident to that Party, that he
“ knew ; and that he would find him a Man of great
“ Honor and Ingenuity, with whom he would be
“ well pleased.” His Majesty said, “ he would frankly
“ declare to his Mother, that he had received some
“ Intelligence out of *Scotland*, and that he was obliged,
“ and had given his word to those whose Lives would
“ be forfeited if known, that he would not commu-
“ nicate it with any but those who were chosen by

“ themselves; and, after this, she could not be of-
 “ fended with his reservation:” and concluded with
 a gracious conjuration, and command to the Chan-
 cellor, “ that he should cheerfully submit, and un-
 “ dergo that Employment; which, he assured him,
 “ should never be attended with prejudice or incon-
 “ venience to him.” In this manner, he submitted
 himself to the King’s disposal, and was trusted through-
 out that Affair; which had several Stages in the years
 following, and did produce the inconveniencies he
 had foreseen, and rendered him so unacceptable to
 the Queen, that she easily entertained those prejudices
 against him, which those she most trusted were
 always ready to infuse into her, and under which he
 was compelled to bear many hardships.

B O O K
 XIII.

The Chancel-
 lor submits;
 and was ac-
 cordingly
 trusted in
 these Affairs.

This uncomfortable Condition of the King was
 rendered yet more desperate, by the Straits, and
 Necessities, into which the *French* Court was about
 this time plunged: so that they who hitherto had
 shewed no very good will to assist the King, were
 now become really unable to do it. The Parliament
 of *Paris* had behaved themselves so refractorily to all
 their King’s Commands, pressed so importunately for
 the liberty of the Princes, and so impatiently for the
 remove of the Cardinal, that the Cardinal was at last
 compelled to persuade the Queen to consent to both:
 and so himself rid to *Havre de Grace*, and delivered
 the Queen’s Warrant to set them at liberty, and after
 a short Conference with the Prince of *Condé*, he con-
 tinued his own Journey towards *Germany*, and passed
 in disguise, with two or three Servants, till he came

The Troubles
 of the French
 Court about
 this time.

B O O K near *Cologne*, and there he remained at a House
XIII. belonging to that Elector.

When the Prince came to *Paris*, they had received great welcome from the Parliament, and the City; and instead of closing with the Court, which it was thought they would have done, the Wound was widened without any hope of reconciliation: so that the King, and Queen-Regent, withdrew from thence; the Town was in Arms; and Fire and Sword denounced against the Cardinal; his Goods sold at an Outcry; and a price set upon his Head; and all Persons who professed any Duty to their King, found themselves very unsafe in *Paris*. During all this time the Queen of *England* and the King, with their Families, remained in the *Louvre*, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to stay there; the Assignments, which had been made for their Subsistence, not being paid them: and the loose People of the Town begun to talk of the Duke of *York's* being in Arms against them. But the Duke of *Orleans*, under whose name all the disorders were committed, and the Prince of *Condé*, visited our King and Queen with many Professions of Civility; but those were shortly abated likewise, when the *French* King's Army came upon one side of the Town, and the *Spanish*, with the Duke of *Lorraine's*, upon the other. The *French* Army thought they had the Enemy upon an advantage, and desired to have a Battle with them; which the other declined; all which time, the Court had an underhand-Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine*; and, upon a day appointed, the *French* King sent to the King of *England*, to desire him to confer with the

Duke of *Lorraine*; who lay then with his Army within a Mile of the Town. There was no reason visible for that desire, nor could it be conceived, that his Majesty's interposition could be of moment: yet his Majesty knew not how to refuse it; but immediately went to the place assigned; where he found both Armies drawn up in Battalia within Cannon-shot of each other. Upon his Majesty's coming to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Treaty was again revived, and Messages sent between the Duke and Marechal *Turenne*. In fine, the night approaching, both Armies drew off from their ground, and his Majesty returned to the *Louvre*; and before the next morning, the Treaty was finished between the Court and the Duke of *Lorraine*; and he marched away with his whole Army towards *Flanders*, and left the *Spaniards* to support the Parliament against the Power of the *French* Army; which advanced upon them with that Resolution, that, though they defended themselves very bravely, and the Prince of *Condé* did the Office of a brave General in the *Fauxbourg St. Marceaux*, and at the *Porte St. Antoine*, in which places many gallant Persons of both sides were slain, they had been all cut off, if the City had not been prevailed with to suffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the King's Army retired to their old Post, four Leagues off, and attended future advantages: the King having a very great Party in the Parliament and the City, which abhorred the receiving and entertaining the *Spaniards* into their bowels.

This Retreat of the Duke of *Lorraine*, broke the neck of the Prince of *Condé*'s design. He knew well

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he should not be long able to retain the Duke of *Orleans* from treating with the Court, or keep the *Parisians* at his Devotion; and that the Duke *de Beaufort*, whom they had made Governor of *Paris*, would be weary of the Contention. For the present, they were all incensed against the Duke of *Lorraine*; and were well enough contented that the People should believe, that this defection in the Duke was wrought by the activity, and interposition of the King of *England*; and they who did know that his Interest could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to interpret his Majesty's Journey to speak with the Duke in so unseasonable a conjuncture: so that, as the People expressed, and used all the insolent reproaches against the *English* Court at the *Louvre*, and loudly threatened to be revenged, so neither the Duke of *Orleans*, nor the Prince of *Condé*, made any visit there, or expressed the least Civility towards it. In truth, our King and Queen did not think themselves out of danger, nor stirred out of the *Louvre* for many days, until the *French* Court thought themselves obliged to provide for their Security, by advising the King and Queen to remove, and assigned *St. Germain's* to them for their Retreat. Then his Majesty sent to the Duke of *Orleans*, and Prince of *Condé*, "that their
" purpose was to leave the Town:" upon which, there was a Guard that attended Them out of the Town at the evening; which could not be got to be in readiness till then; and they were shortly after met by some Troops of Horse sent by the *French* King, which conducted them by Torch-light to *St. Germain's*; where they arrived about midnight; and

The King of
England and
his Mother
remove to
St. Germain's.

remained there without any disturbance, till *Paris* B O O K
was reduced to that King's Obedience. XIII.

It is a very hard thing for People who have nothing to do, to forbear doing something which they ought not to do; and the King might well hope that, since he had nothing else left to enjoy, he might have enjoyed quiet and repose; and that Court which had nothing to give, might have been free from Faction and Ambition; whilst every Man had composed himself to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for Conscience sake, which every Man pretended to be his case, with submission and content, till it should please God to buoy up the King from the lowness he was in; who in truth suffered much more than any Body else. But whilst there are Courts in the World, Emulation and Ambition will be inseparable from them; and Kings who have nothing to give, shall be pressed to promise; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and mischievous than any present gifts could be, because they always draw on more of the same title, and pretence; and as they who receive the Favors, are not the more satisfied, so they who are not paid in the same kind, or who, out of modesty and discretion, forbear to make such Suits, are grieved and offended to see the vanity, and presumption of bold Men, so unseasonably gratified and encouraged.

The King found no benefit of this kind in being stripped of all his Dominions, and all his Power. Men were as importunate, as hath been said before, for Honors, and Offices, and Revenues, as if they could have taken possession of them as soon as they had been granted, though but by promise: and Men who would

Solicitations
for places in
the King's
Court.

B O O K not have had the presumption to have asked the same
XIII. thing, if the King had been in *England*, thought it very justifiable to demand it, because he was Not there; since there were so many hazards that they should never live to enjoy what he promised. The vexations he underwent of this kind, cannot be expressed; and who soever succeeded not in his unreasonable desires imputed it only to the ill Nature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and concluded, that He alone obstructed it, because they always received very gracious Answers from his Majesty: so that though his wants were as visible and notorious as any Man's, and it appeared he got nothing for himself, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit, and interest he was thought to have with his Master.

The Lord *Wilmot* had, by the opportunity of his late conversation with the King in his Escape, drawn many kind expressions from his Majesty; and he thought he could not be too solicitous to procure such a Testimony of his Grace and Favor, as might distinguish him from other Men, and publish the esteem the King had of him. Therefore he importuned his Majesty that he would make him an Earl, referring the time of his Creation to his Majesty's own choice: and the modesty of this reference prevailed; the King well knowing, that the same Honor would be desired on the behalf of another, by one whom he should be unwilling to deny. But since it was not asked for the present, he promised to do it in a time that should appear to be convenient for his Service.

There were Projects of another kind, which were much more troublesome; in which the Projectors still

considered Themselves in the first place, and what their condition might prove to be by the Success. The Duke of *York* was so well pleased with the fatigue of the War, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his Servants did not like that course of life so well, at least desired so far to improve it, that they might reap some Advantages to themselves out of His Appointments. Sir *John Berkeley* was now, upon the death of the Lord *Byron*, by which the Duke was deprived of a very good Servant, become the superior of his Family, and called himself, without any Authority for it, *Intendant des Affaires de son Altesse Royale*; had the management of all his receipts and disbursements; and all the rest depended upon him. He desired, by all ways, to get a better Revenue for his Master, than the small Pension he received from *France*; and thought no expedient so proper for him, as a Wife of a great and noble Fortune; which he presumed he should have the managing of.

There was then a Lady in the Town, *Mademoiselle de Longueville*, the Daughter of the Duke *de Longueville* by his first Wife, by whom she was to inherit a very fair Revenue, and had title to a very considerable Sum of Money, which her Father was obliged to account for: so that she was looked upon, as one of the greatest and richest Marriages in *France*, in respect of her fortune; in respect of her Person not at all attractive, being a Lady of a very low Stature, and that Stature somewhat deformed. This Lady Sir *John* designed for the Duke; and treated with those Ladies who were nearest to her, and had been trusted with the Education of her, before he mentioned it to his Royal

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The Lord
Byron, the
Duke's Gover-
nor, dies.

Sir John
Berkeley de-
signs Made-
moiselle de
Longue-

B O O K
XIII.
ville for the
Duke's wife.

Highness. Then he persuaded him, "that all hopes in
" *England* were desperate: that the Government was
" so settled there, that it could never be shaken; so
" that his Highness must think of no other fortune
" than what he should make by his Sword: that he
" was now upon the Stage where he must act out his
" Life, and that he should do well to think of provid-
" ing a Civil fortune for himself, as well as a Martial;
" which could only be by Marriage:" and then spoke
of *Mademoiselle de Longueville*, and made her Fortune
at least equal to what it was; "which, he said, when
" once his Highness was possessed of, he might sell;
" and thereby raise Money to pay an Army to invade
" *England*, and so might become the Restorer of the
" King his Brother: this he thought very practicable,
" if his Highness seriously and heartily would en-
" deavour it." The Duke himself had no aversion
from Marriage, and the consideration of the Fortune,
and the circumstances which might attend it, made it
not the less acceptable; yet he made no other Answer
to it, "than that he must first know the King's and
" Queen's judgment of it, before he could take any
" resolution what to do." Upon which Sir *John*
undertook, with his Highness' approbation, to pro-
pose it to their Majesties himself, and accordingly first
spoke with the Queen, enlarging on all the benefit
which probably might attend it.

It was believed, that the first Overture and Attempt
had not been made without her Majesty's privity,
and Approbation; for the Lord *Fermyn* had been no
less active in the contrivance than Sir *John Berkeley*;
yet her Majesty refused to deliver any opinion in it,

till she knew the King's: and so at last, after the young Lady herself had been spoken to, his Majesty was informed of it, and his Approbation desired; with which he was not well pleased; and yet was unwilling to use his Authority to obstruct what was looked upon as so great a benefit and advantage to his Brother; though he did not dissemble his resentment of Their presumption who undertook to enter upon Treaties of that Nature, with the same liberty as if it concerned only their own Kindred and Allies: however, he was very reserved in saying what he thought of it. Whilst his Majesty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to discover what the Chancellor of the Exchequer's judgment was; and the Lord *Jermyn* spoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the King's part, otherwise than from the difficulty of bringing it to pass, in regard the Lady's Friends would not easily be induced to give their consent. But the Chancellor could not be drawn to make any other Answer, than "that it was a Subject
" so much above his comprehension, and the consequences might be such, that he had not the ambition
" to desire to be consulted with upon it; and that less
" than the King's or Queen's command should not
" induce him to enter upon the discourse of it."

It was not long before the Queen sent for him; and seeming to complain of the importunity, which was used towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, asked him, what his opinion of it was? to which he answered, "that he did not understand
" the convenience of it so well, as to judge whether
" it were like to be of benefit to the Duke of York: but

The Queen
consults the
Chancellor of
the Exchequer
about the
Marriage.

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Mademoiselle
likewise
thought on for
the King.

The Marquis
of Ormond's
and the Chan-
cellor of the

“ he thought, that neither the King, nor her Majesty,
“ should be willing that the Heir of the Crown should
“ be married before the King himself; or that it should
“ be in any Woman's power to say, that, if there were
“ but one Person dead, she should be a Queen :” with
which her Majesty, who no doubt did love the King
with all possible tenderness, seemed to be moved, as
if it had been a consideration she had not thought of
before; and said, with some warmth, “ that she would
“ never give her consent that it should be so.” How-
ever, this Argument was quickly made known to the
Duke of York, and several glosses made upon it, to the
reproach of the Chancellor: yet it made such an im-
pression, that there were then as active endeavours to
find a convenient Wife for the King himself, and
Mademoiselle the Daughter of the Duke of Orleans, by
his first Wife, who, in the Right of her Mother, was
already possessed of the fair inheritance of the Dutchy
of *Mompensier*, was thought of. To this the Queen
was much inclined, and the King himself not averse;
both looking too much upon the relief it might give
to his present necessities, and the convenience of hav-
ing a place to repose in, as long as the storm should
continue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had no
thought, by the conclusion he had made in the other
Overture, to have drawn on this proposition; and the
Marquis of *Ormond* and He were no less troubled
with this, than with the former; which made them
be looked upon as Men of contradiction.

They represented to the King, “ that, as it could
“ administer only some competency towards his pre-
“ sent Subsistence, so it might exceedingly prejudice

“ his future hopes, and alienate the affections of his
 “ Friends in *England*: that the Lady was elder than
 “ He by some years; which was an exception amongst
 “ private Persons; and had been observed not to be
 “ prosperous to Kings: That his Majesty must expect
 “ to be pressed to those things in point of Religion
 “ which he could never consent to; and yet he
 “ should undergo the same disadvantage as if he had
 “ consented, by many Men’s believing he had done
 “ so. ” They besought him “ to set his heart entirely
 “ upon the recovery of *England*, and to indulge to
 “ nothing that might reasonably obstruct That, either
 “ by making him less intent upon it, or by creating
 “ new difficulties in the pursuing it. ” His Majesty
 assured them “ that his heart was set upon nothing
 “ else; and, if he had inclination to this Marriage, it
 “ was because he believed it might much facilitate
 “ the other: that he looked not upon her Fortune,
 “ which was very great, as an annual support to him,
 “ but as a stock that should be at his disposal; by
 “ Sale whereof he might raise Money enough to raise
 “ a good Army to attempt the recovery of his King-
 “ doms: and that he would be well assured, that it
 “ should be in his power to make that use of it, before
 “ he would be engaged in the Treaty: that he had no
 “ apprehension of the pressures which would be made
 “ in matters of Religion, because, if the Lady did
 “ once consent to the Marriage, she would affect no-
 “ thing but what might advance the recovery of his
 “ Dominions; which she would quickly understand
 “ any unreasonable Concessions in Religion would
 “ never do. ” In a word, his Majesty discovered

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XIII.

Exchequer's
exceptions
against this

B O O K enough to let them see that he stood well enough inclined to the Overture itself; which gave them trouble; as a thing which, in many respects, was like to prove very inconvenient.

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But they were quickly freed from that Apprehension. The Lady carried herself in that manner, on the behalf of the Prince of *Condé*, and so offensively to the *French* Court, having given fire herself to the Cannon in the *Bastile* upon the King at the *Porte St. Antoine*, and done so many blamable things against the *French* King and Queen, that they no sooner heard of this discourse, but they quickly put an end to it; the Cardinal, who was now returned again, having long resolved, that our King should never owe any part of his Restitution to any countenance, or assistance, he should receive from *France*; and, from the same conclusion, the like end was put to all Overtures which had concerned the Duke of *York* and the other Lady.

Both these designs come to nothing.

There was, shortly after, an unexpected Accident, that seemed to make some alteration in the affairs of *Christendom*; which many very reasonably believed, might have proved advantageous to the King. The Parliament, as soon as they had settled their Commonwealth, and had no Enemy they feared, had sent Ambassadors to their Sister Republic, the States of the united Provinces, to invite them to enter into a stricter Alliance with them, and, upon the Matter, to be as one Commonwealth, and to have one Interest. They were received in *Holland* with all imaginable respect, and as great Expressions made, as could be, of an equal desire that a firm Union might be established between the two Commonwealths: and, for the forming thereof,

The Parliament sent Ambassadors to Holland to invite them to a strict Union, Saint-John being the chief.

thereof, Persons were appointed to treat with the Ambassadors; which was looked upon as a matter that would easily succeed, since the Prince of *Orange*, who could have given powerful obstructions in such Cases, was now dead, and all those who adhered to him, discountenanced, and removed from places of trust and power in all the Provinces, and his Son an Infant, born after the Death of his Father, at the Mercy of the States even for his Support; the two Dowagers, his Mother and Grandmother, having great Jointures out of the Estate, and the rest being liable to the payment of vast debts. In the Treaty, *Saint-John*, who had the whole trust of the Embassy, being very powerful in the Parliament, and the known confident of *Cromwell*, pressed such a kind of Union as must disunite them from all their other Allies: so that, for the friendship of *England*, they must lose the friendship of other Princes, and yet lose many other Advantages in Trade, which they enjoyed, and which they saw the younger and more powerful Commonwealth would in a short time deprive them of. This the States could not digest, and used all the ways they could to divert them from insisting upon so unreasonable conditions; and made many large Overtures and Concessions, which had never been granted by them to the greatest Kings, and were willing to quit some Advantages they had enjoyed by all the Treaties with the Crown of *England*, and to yield other considerable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

But this would not satisfy, nor would the Ambassadors recede from any particular they had proposed:

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They return
without any
Effect.

The Parlia-
ment there-
upon make
the Act of
Navigation.

so that, after some Months stay, during which time they received many Affronts from some *English*, and from others, they returned with great Presents from the States, but without any effect by the Treaty, or entering into any terms of Alliance, and with the extreme indignation of *Saint-John*; which he manifested as soon as he returned to the Parliament; who disdain- ing likewise to find themselves undervalued (that is, not valued above all the world besides) presently entered upon Counsels how they might discountenance and control the Trade of *Holland*, and increase their own.

Hereupon they made that Act that “inhibits all
“ Foreign Ships from bringing in any Merchandise
“ or Commodities into *England*, but such as were the
“ proceed or growth of their own Country, upon
“ the penalty of forfeiture of all such Ships.” This indeed concerned all other Countries; but it did, upon the matter, totally suppress all Trade with *Holland*, which had very little Merchandise of the growth of their own Country, but had used to bring in their Ships the growth of all other Kingdoms in the world; Wine from *France* and *Spain*, Spices from the Indies, and all Commodities from all other Countries; which they must now do no more. The *Dutch* Ambassador expostulated this matter very warmly, “as
“ a breach of Commerce and Amity, which could
“ not consist with the Peace between the two Na-
“ tions; and that his Masters could not look upon it
“ otherwise than as a Declaration of War.” The Par-
liament Answered him superciliously, “that his Mas-
“ ters might take it in what manner they pleased;

“ but They knew what was best for their own State, B O O K
 “ and would not repeal Laws to gratify their Neigh- XIII.
 “ bours; and caused the Act to be executed with the
 utmost rigor and severity.

The United Provinces now discerned, that they had helped to raise an Enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the Crown had been. However, they could not believe it possible, that in the Infancy of their Republic, and when their Government was manifestly odious to all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, and the People generally weary of the Taxes and Impositions upon the Nation for the support of their Land-Armies, the Parliament would venture to increase those Taxes and Impositions proportionably to maintain a new War at Sea, at so vast an Expence, as could not be avoided; and therefore believed that they only made show of this Courage to amuse and terrify them. However, at the Spring, They set out a Fleet stronger than of course they used to do; which made no impression upon the *English*; who never suspected that the *Dutch* durst enter into a War with them. Besides that they were confident no such Counsel and Resolution could be taken on a sudden, and without their having first Notice of it, they having several of the States-General, and more of the States of *Holland*, very devoted to them. And therefore they increased not their expence, but sent out their usual Fleet for the Guard of the Coast at their Season, and with no other Instructions than they had been accustomed to.

The Council of the Admiralty of *Holland*, which Orders from the
 governed the Maritime Affairs, without communica- Admiralty in
 Holland to

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their Fleet,
“ not to strike
“ to the
“ English.”

tion with the States-General, gave their Instructions to the Admiral *Van Trump*, “ that when he met any
“ of the *English* Ships of War, he should not strike to
“ them, nor show them any other respect than what
“ they received from them; and if the *English* ex-
“ postulated the matter, they should answer frankly,
“ that the respect they had formerly showed upon
“ those Encounters, was because the Ships were the
“ King’s, and for the good intelligence they had with
“ the Crown; but they had no reason to continue
“ the same in this alteration of Government, except
“ there were some Stipulation between them to that
“ purpose: and if this Answer did not satisfy, but
“ that force was used towards them, they should
“ defend themselves with their utmost vigor.” These Instructions were very secret, and never suspected by the *English* Commanders; who had their old Instructions to oblige all Foreign Vessels to strike sail to them; which had never been refused by any Nation.

It was about the beginning of *May* in the year 1652, that the *Dutch* Fleet, consisting of above forty Sail, under the Command of *Van Trump*, rode at Anchor in *Dover*-Road, being driven by a strong Wind, as they pretended, from the *Flanders*-Coast, when the *English* Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, of a much less Number, appeared in view; upon which the *Dutch* weighed Anchor, and put out to Sea, without striking their Flag; which *Blake* observing, caused three Guns to be fired without any Ball. It was then observed, that there was an Express Ketch came, at the very time, from *Holland*, on board their Admiral; and it was then conceived, that he had, by that

The war be-
gun upon this
account with
the Dutch.

Express, received more positive Orders to Fight: for upon the Arrival of that Express, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the *English* Fleet; and the three Guns were no sooner fired, but, in contempt of the Advertisement, he discharged one single Gun from his Poop, and hung out a red Flag; and came up to the *English* Admiral, and gave him a broadside; with which he killed many of his Men, and damaged the Ship. Whereupon, though *Blake* was surpris'd, as not expecting such an Assault, he deferred not to give him the same rude salutation; and so both Fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce Encounter; which continued for the space of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loss of much blood on both sides. On the part of the *Dutch*, they lost two Ships, whereof one was sunk, and the other taken, with both the Captains, and near two hundred Prisoners, On the *English* side, there were many slain, and more wounded, but no Ship lost, nor Officer of Name. When the morning appeared, the *Dutch* were gone to their Coast. And thus the War was entered into, before it was suspected in *England*.

With what consideration soever the *Dutch* had Embarked themselves in this sudden Enterprize, it quickly appeared they had taken very ill measures of the People's Affections. For the News of this conflict was no sooner arrived in *Holland*, but there was the most general consternation, amongst all sorts of Men, that can be imagined; and the States themselves were so much troubled at it, that, with great expedition, they despatched two extraordinary Ambassadors into *England*; by whom they protested, "that the late

The States
send two Ambassadors

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into England
about it,

“ unhappy Engagement between the Fleets of the
“ two Common-wealths, had happened without their
“ knowledge, and contrary to the intention of the
“ Lords the States-General : that they had received
“ the fatal tidings of so rash an Attempt, and Action,
“ with amazement, and astonishment; and that they
“ had immediately entered into consultation, how
“ they might best close this fresh bleeding Wound,
“ and to avoid the farther Effusion of Christian blood
“ so much desired by the Enemies of both States ;
“ and therefore they most earnestly desired them, by
“ their mutual concurrence in Religion, and by their
“ mutual love of Liberty, that nothing might be done
“ with passion and heat ; which would widen the
“ breach ; but that they might speedily receive such
“ an Answer, that there might be no farther obstruc-
“ tion to the Trade of both Common-wealths.”

The parlia-
ment's An-
swer to them.

To which this Answer was presently returned to
them, “ that the civility which they had always showed
“ towards the States of the United Provinces, was
“ so notorious, that nothing was more strange than
“ the ill return they had made to them : that the
“ extraordinary preparations, which they had made,
“ of a hundred and fifty Ships, without any apparent
“ necessity, and the Instructions which had been
“ given to their Sea-Officers, had administered too
“ much cause to believe, that the Lords the States-
“ General of the United Provinces had a purpose to
“ usurp the known Right which the *English* have to
“ the Seas, and to destroy their Fleets ; which, under
“ the protection of the Almighty, are their Walls
“ and Bulwarks ; so that they might be exposed to

“ the invasion of any powerful Enemy: therefore
 “ they thought themselves obliged to endeavour, by
 “ God’s Assistance, to seek reparation for the injuries
 “ and damage they had already received, and to pre-
 “ vent the like for the future: However, they should
 “ never be without an intention and desire, that some
 “ effectual means might be found to establish a good
 “ Peace, Union, and right Understanding, between
 “ the two Nations.”

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With this haughty Answer they vigorously pro-
 secuted their revenge, and commanded *Blake* present-
 ly to Sail to the Northward; it being then the Season
 of the year for the great Fisheries of the *Dutch* upon
 the Coasts of *Scotland*, and the Isles of *Orkney* (by the
 benefit whereof they drive a great part of their Trade
 over *Europe*) where he now found their multitude of
 fishing-Boats, guarded by twelve Ships of War; most
 of which, with the fish they had made ready, he
 brought away with him as good prize.

Blakes takes
their fishing-
Busses, and
their Guard-
ships.

When *Blake* was sent to the North, Sir *George*
Aiscue, being just returned from the West-Indies, was
 sent with another part of the Fleet to the South; who,
 at his very going out, met with thirty Sail of their
 Merchants between *Dover* and *Calais*; a good part
 whereof he took, or sunk; and forced the rest to run
 on Shore upon the *French* Coast; which is very little
 better than being taken. From thence he stood West-
 ward; and near *Plymouth*, with thirty Sail of Men of
 War, he engaged the whole *Dutch* Fleet, consisting
 of sixty Ships of War, and thirty Merchants. It was
 near four of the Clock in the Afternoon when both
 Fleets begun to engage, so that the Night quickly

Sir G. Aiscue
takes or sinks
30 Sail of
their Mer-
chants: fights
the Dutch
Fleet near
Plymouth.

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parted them; yet not before two of the *Holland*-Ships of War were sunk, and most of the Men lost; the *Dutch* in that Action applying themselves most to spoil the Tackling, and Sails of the *English*; in which they had so good success, that the next Morning they were not able to give them farther chase, till their Sails and Rigging could be repaired. But no day passed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable *Dutch* Ships into the Ports of *England*; which, having begun their Voyages before any notice given to them of the War, were making haste home without any fear of their Security: so that, there being now no hope of a Peace by the mediation of their Ambassadors, who could not prevail in any thing they proposed, they returned, and the War was proclaimed on either side, as well as prosecuted.

The King thought he might very reasonably hope to reap some benefit and advantage from this War, so briskly entered upon on both sides; and when he had sat still till the return of the *Dutch* Ambassadors from *London*, and that all Treaties were given over, he believed it might contribute to his ends, if he made a Journey into *Holland*, and made such Propositions upon the place as he might be advised to: but when his Majesty imparted this design to his Friends there, who did really desire to serve him, he was very warmly dissuaded from coming thither; and assured, “ that it was so far from being yet seasonable, that it
“ would more advance a Peace than any thing else
“ that could be proposed; and would, for the present,
“ bring the greatest prejudice to his Sister, and to the
“ affairs of his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, that
“ could be imagined.”

The King hereupon took a resolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce the good he desired. The *Dutch* Ambassador then resident at *Paris*, Monsieur *Borrel*, who had been Pensioner of *Amsterdam*, was very much devoted to the King's Service, having been formerly Ambassador in *England*, and had always dependance upon the Princes of *Orange* successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who visited him constantly once a Week, and received Advertisements, and Advices from him, and the Ambassador frequently came to His Lodging. The King, upon conference only with the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor, and enjoining them secrecy, caused a Paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "that he had very good reason to believe, that there were many Officers and Sea-men engaged in the Service of the *English* Fleet, who undertook that Service in hope to find a good opportunity to serve his Majesty; and that, if the *Dutch* were willing to receive him, he would immediately put himself on board their Fleet, without requiring any Command, except of such Ships only, as, upon their notice of his being there, should repair to him out of the Rebels Fleet:" by this means, he presumed, "he should be able much to weaken their Naval power, and to raise Divisions in the Kingdom, by which the *Dutch* would receive benefit and advantage." Having signed this Paper, he sent the Chancellor with it open, to show to the *Dutch* Ambassador, and to desire him to send it enclosed in his Letter to the States. The Ambassador was very

The King at
Paris proposes
to Monsieur
Borrel the
Dutch Amba-
sador that he
would join
his Interest
with theirs.

B O O K XIII. much surpris'd with it, and made some scruple of sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advis'd it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his Affection to the King, and for his dependance upon the House of *Orange*. In the end, he desired "the King would inclose it in a Letter to him, and oblige him to send it to the States-General:" which was done accordingly; and he sent it by the Post to the States.

The War had already made the Councils of the States less united than they had been, and the Party that was known to be inclined to the Prince of *Orange*, recovered courage, and joined with those who were no Friends to the War; and, when this Message from the King was read, magnified the King's Spirit in making this Overture, and wished that an Answer of very humble thanks and acknowledgment might be returned to his Majesty. They said, "no means ought to be neglected that might abate the pride and power of the Enemy:" and as soon as the People heard of it, they thought it reasonable to accept the King's Offer. *De Wit*, who was Pensioner of *Holland*, and had the greatest influence upon their Counsels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the King; which, he foresaw, must necessarily introduce the pretences of the Prince of *Orange*; to whom he was an avowed and declared Enemy. He told them, "indeed it was a very generous offer of the King; but if they should accept it, they could never recede from his Interest; which, instead of putting an end to the War, of which they were already weary, would make it without end, and would be the ruin of their

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“ State: that, whilst they were free from being en-
 “ gaged in any Interest but their own, they might
 “ reasonably hope that both sides would be equally
 “ weary of the War, and then a Peace would easily
 “ ensue; which they should otherwise put out of their
 “ own power;” so that thanks were returned to the
 King for his good Will; and they pursued their own
 method in their Counsels, and were much superior to
 those who were of another opinion, desiring nothing
 so much, as to make a Peace upon any conditions.

Thanks re-
 turned to the
 King by the
 States, but
 his proposal
 laid aside.

Nor can it appear very wonderful, that the *Dutch*
 made show of so much flegm in this Affair, when the
 very choler and pride of the *French* was, about the
 same time, so humbled by the Spirit of the *English*,
 that, though they took their Ships every day, and
 made them prize, and had now seized upon their
 whole Fleet that was going to the relief of *Dunkirk*
 (that was then closely besieged by the *Spaniard*, and
 by the taking that Fleet, was delivered into their
 hands) yet the *French* would not be provoked to be
 angry with them, or to express any inclination to the
 King; but sent an Ambassador, which they had not
 before done, to expostulate very civilly with the
 Parliament for having been so unneighbourly, but in
 truth to desire their Friendship upon what terms they
 pleased; the Cardinal fearing nothing so much, as that
 the *Spaniard* would make such a conjunction with the
 new Common-wealth, as should disappoint and break
 all his designs.

The English
 seize on a
 French Fleet
 going to the
 relief of Dun-
 kirk.

The French
 send an Amba-
 sador into
 England.

The insupportable losses which the *Dutch* every day
 sustained by the taking their Merchant - Ships, and
 their Ships of War, and the total obstruction of their

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In February
Blake engages
the Dutch
Fleet; who
are beaten.

The Dutch
send again to
the Parliament
for Peace.

Cromwell
never zealous

Trade, broke their hearts, and increased their factions and divisions at home. All the Seas were covered with the *English* Fleets; which made no distinctions of Seasons, but were as active in the Winter as the Summer: and engaged the *Dutch* upon any inequality of Number. The *Dutch* having been beaten in the Month of *October*, and *Blake* having received a brush from them in the Month of *December*, in the Month of *February*, the most dangerous season of the Year, They, having appointed a Rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty Merchant-Men, sent a Fleet of above one hundred Sail of Men of War to convoy them; and *Blake*, with a Fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp Battle from Noon till the Night parted them: which disposed them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but, in the Morning, they found that the *English* had attended them so close, that they were engaged again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand Men who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their Merchant-Men to the *English*, that they might make their flight the more securely.

This last loss made them send again to the Parliament to desire a Peace; who rejected the Overture, as they pretended, "for want of formality" (for they always pretended a desire of an honorable Peace) the Address being made only by the States of *Holland*, and *West-Friezland*, the States-General being at that time not Assembled. It was generally believed, that this Address from *Holland* was not only with the Approbation, but by the direction of *Cromwell*; who

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for this War
with the
Dutch, but
governed in it
by Saint-John

had rather consented to those particulars, which were naturally like to produce that War, to gratify *Saint-John* (who was inseparable from him in all his other Counsels, and was incensed by the *Dutch*) than approved the Resolution. And now he found, by the expence of the Engagements had already passed on both sides, what an insupportable Charge that War must be attended with. Besides, he well discerned that all Parties, Friends and Foes, Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the War; which, he thought, could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the Expence might make it necessary to disband a great part of the Land-Army (of which there appeared no use) to support the Navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he Authority to place his own Creatures there, all the Officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the Parliament: So that when this Address was made by the *Dutch*, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a Treaty thereupon entered into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deferred not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the Parliament with a witness, and by a way they least thought of.

Though *Cromwell* was exercised with these contradictions and vexations at home, by the Authority of the Parliament, he found not the least opposition from abroad. He was more absolute in the other two Kingdoms, more feared, and more obeyed, than any King had ever been; and all the Dominions belonging to the Crown, owned no other subjection than to the

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Guernsey and
Jersey had
been now
reduced.
Sir George
Carteret de-
fended this as
long as he
could, and
Elizabeth-
Castle.

Common-wealth of *England*. The Isles of *Guernsey*, and *Jersey*, and *Scilly*, were reduced; the former presently after the Battle of *Worcester*; and the other, after the King's return to *Paris*; Sir *George Carteret* having well defended *Jersey* as long as he could, and being so over-powered that he could no longer defend the *Island*, he retired into Castle *Elizabeth*; which he had fortified, and provided with all things necessary for a Siege; presuming that, by the care and diligence of the Lord *Fermyn*, who was Governor thereof, he should receive Supplies of Men and Provision, as he should stand in need of them; as he might easily have done in spite of any power of the Parliament by Sea, or Land. But it had been the principal reason that *Cromwell* had hitherto kept the better Quarter with the Cardinal, lest the bait of those two Islands, which the King could have put into his hands when he would, should tempt him to give his Majesty any Assistance. But the King was so strict and punctual in his care of the Interest of *England*, when he seemed to be abandoned by it, that he chose rather to suffer those places of great importance to fall into *Cromwell's* power, than to deposite them, upon any conditions, into *French* hands; which, he knew, would never restore them to the just owner, what obligations soever they entered into.

When that Castle had been besieged three Months, and the Enemy could not approach nearer to plant their Ordnance than, at least, half an *English* Mile, the Sea encompassing it round more than so far from any Land, and it not being possible for any of their Ships to come within such a distance, they brought

notwithstanding Mortar-pieces of such an incredible greatness, and such as had never been before seen in this part of the world, that from the highest point of the Hill, near St. *Hilary's*, they shot *Granadoes* of a vast bigness into the Castle, and beat down many Houses; and, at last, blowed up a great Magazine, where most of the provision of Victuals lay; and killed many Men. Upon which Sir *George Carteret* sent an Express to give the King an Account of the condition he was in, and to desire a supply of Men and Provisions; which it being impossible for his Majesty to procure, he sent him Orders to make the best conditions he could; which he shortly after did; and came himself to *Paris*, to give the King a larger information of all that had passed in that Affair; and afterwards remained in *France* under many mortifications, by the power and prosecution of *Cromwell*, till the King's happy Restoration.

The King
sends him
Orders to
make con-
ditions.

All the Foreign Plantations had submitted to the Yoke; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having Citizens and inferior Persons put to Govern them, instead of Gentlemen, who had been intrusted by the King in those places. *New-England* had been too much Allied to all the Conspiracies and Combinations against the Crown, not to be very well pleased that Men of their own Principles prevailed; and settled a Government themselves were delighted with. The *Barbadoes*, which was much the Richest Plantation, was principally Inhabited by Men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in *England*, and without any ill thoughts towards the

The Foreign
Plantations
also were
subdued.

The Barba-
does delivered
up.

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King; many of them having served him with Fidelity and Courage, during the War; and, that being ended, made that *Island* their Refuge from farther prosecutions. But having now gotten good Estates there (as it is incredible to what fortunes Men raised themselves in few years, in the Plantation) they were more willing to live in Subjection to that Government at that distance, than to return into *England*, and be liable to the Penalties of their former Transgressions; which, upon the Articles of Surrender, they were indemnified for: Nor was there any other alteration there than the removing the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the Parliament, as well as by being Governor there by the King's Commission) and putting an inferior mean Man in his place.

More was expected from *Virginia*; which was the most Ancient Plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in Sir *William Berkeley*, the Governor thereof, who had industriously invited many Gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of Security, which he could defend against any Attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many Persons of Condition, and good Officers in the War, had Transported themselves, with all the Estates they had been able to preserve; with which the honest Governor, for no Man meant better, was so confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the King almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the Parliament had nothing else to do, that Plantation in a short time was more improved in
People

People and Stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the *Indians* to very good Neighbourhood. But, alas! they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employed in the making the best Advantage of their particular Plantations, without assigning time or Men to provide for the Public Security in building Forts, or any places of Retreat, that there no sooner appeared two or three Ships from the Parliament than all thoughts of Resistance were laid aside. Sir *William Berkeley*, the Governor, was suffered to remain there as a Private Man, upon his own Plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the Reputation he had with the People, till upon the noise and fame of the King's Restoration, he did as quietly resume the Exercise of his former Commission, and found as ready an Obedience. About this time also, *Scilly*, which had been vigorously defended by Sir *John Grenvil*, till it wanted all things, was delivered up to Sir *George Aiscue*, And Virginia,

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the Affairs of *Scotland* (which will be part of the Argument of the next Book) where *Monk* for the present Governed with a Rod of Iron, and at last found no contradiction, or opposition to his good Will and Pleasure. In *Ireland*, if that People had not been prepared and ripe for destruction, there had happened an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and disposed the Nation to have united themselves under their new Deputy, whom they had themselves desired, under all the solemn obligations of Obedience. Shortly after

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Ireton died in
Limrick of
the Plague.

Ludlow suc-
ceeds him in
the charge of
the Army.

The Character
of Ireton.

the departure of the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Cromwell's* Deputy, *Ireton*, who had married his Daughter, died in *Limrick* of the Plague; which was gotten into his Army, that was so much weakened by it, and there were so great Factions and Divisions among the Officers after his sudden death, that great Advantages might have been gotten by it. His Authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the Civil, as well as Martial Affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no Man had Authority to take the Command upon him, till *Cromwell's* Pleasure was farther known; who put the Charge of the Army under *Ludlow*, a Man of a very different Temper from the other; but appointed the Civil Government to run in another Channel, so that there remained jealousy and discontent enough still between the Council and the Officers to have shaken a Government that was yet no better established.

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholic, reserved, dark Nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the most part, he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over *Cromwell* himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes; which the other always concealed and disavowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends

and designs. It was generally conceived by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that *Ireton* was a Man so radically averse from Monarchy, and so fixt to a Republic-Government, that, if he had lived, he would either, by his Counsel and Credit, have prevented those excesses in *Cromwell*, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the Army with him; and that *Cromwell*, who best knew his Nature, and his Temper, had therefore carried him into *Ireland* and left him there, that he might be without his Counsels or Importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his Mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards Civil Affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that Government, which his heart was set upon (being a Scholar, conversant in the Law, and in all those Authors who had expressed the greatest Animosity and Malice against the Legal Government) than for the Conduct of an Army to support it; his Personal Courage being never reckoned among his other Abilities.

What Influence soever his Life might have had upon the future Transactions, certain it is, his Death had none upon the State of *Ireland* to the King's Advantage. The Marquis of *Clanricard* left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength, and power of the *Irish* Nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the King's Government. He sent out his Orders and Warrants for the Levying of new Men; and to draw the old Troops together, and to raise Money: but few Men could be

The ill condition of the Marquis of *Clanricard's* affairs in *Ireland*.

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got together, and when they were Assembled, they could not stay together for want of Money to pay them: so that he could never get a Body together to march towards the Enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appeared, that they had made those ample Vows and Protestations, that they might be rid of the Marquis of *Ormond*, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the Popish Clergy, and all the *Irish* of *Ulster*, had no mind to have any relation to the *English* Nation, and as little to return to their Obedience to the Crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the Nuntio, and thought of nothing but how they might get some Foreign Prince to take them into his Protection. They first chose a Committee, *Plunket* and *Brown*, two Lawyers, who had been eminent Conductors of the Rebellion from the beginning, and Men of good Parts, and joined others with them, who were in *France* and *Flanders*. Then they moved the Lord Deputy, to send these Gentlemen into *Flanders*, “to invite the Duke of *Lorraine* to assist them with Arms, Money, and Ammunition, undertaking to have good Intelligence from thence, that the Duke (who was known to wish well to the King) was well prepared to receive their desire, and resolved, out of his Affection to the King, to engage himself cordially in the defence of that Catholic Kingdom, his Zeal to that Religion being known to be very great.”

The Rebels
resolve to in-
vite the Duke
of *Lorraine*
thither:

The Marquis of *Clanricard* had no opinion of the Expedient, or that the Duke would engage himself

on the behalf of a People who had so little Reputation in the World; and therefore refused to give any Commission to those Gentlemen, or to any other to that purpose, without first receiving the King's Order, or at least the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was known to be safely arrived in *France*. But that was looked upon as a delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence, and information of the Duke of *Lorraine's* being willing to undertake their Relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the Libels, and Scandals, and Declarations, which had been published against the Marquis of *Ormond*, were now renewed, with equal Malice and Virulency, against the Marquis of *Clanricard*; and they declared, "that God would never bless his withered hand, "which had always concurred with *Ormond* in the "Prosecution of the Catholic Confederates from the "beginning of their Engagement for the defence of "their Religion; and that he had still had more conversation with Heretics than with Catholics: that "he had refused always to submit to the Pope's Authority; and had treated his Nuntio with less respect than was due from any good Catholic; and "that all the Catholics who were cherished or countenanced by him, were of the same Faction." In the end, he could not longer resist the importunity of the Assembly of the Confederate Catholics (which was again brought together) and of the Bishops and Clergy that governed the other; but gave his consent to send the same Persons they recommended to him; and gave them his Credentials to the Duke o

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Lorraine; but required them “punctually to observe
“his own Instructions, and not to presume to depart
“from them in the least degree.” Their Instructions
were, “to give the Marquis of *Ormond* notice of their
“Arrival; and to show him their Instructions; and to
“conclude nothing without his positive Advice;”
who, he well knew, would communicate all with the
Queen; and that likewise, “when they came into
“*Flanders*, they should advise with such of the King’s
“Council as should be there, and proceed in all
“things as they should direct.”

Commissioners
sent to him to
Brussels.

What Instructions soever the Lord Deputy prescribed to them, the Commissioners received others from the Council and Assembly of their Clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolved to follow; by which they were authorized to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the Duke of *Lorraine* to take them into his Protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the Kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in *France*, they gave no notice of their business or their arrival to the Queen, or to the Marquis of *Ormond*; but prosecuted their journey to *Brussels*, and made their Address, with all secrecy, to the Duke of *Lorraine*. There were, at the same time, at *Antwerp*, the Marquis of *New-Castle*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who was newly returned from his Embassy in *Spain*) and Secretary *Nicholas*; all three had been of the King’s Council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the Duke of *York*, during this time, passed through *Brussels*, in his journey to *Paris*; they imparted not their Negotiations to his Highness.

The Duke of *Lorraine* had a very good mind to get footing in *Ireland*; where, he was sure, there wanted no Men to make Armies enough, which he thought were not like to want Courage to defend their Country and Religion. And the Commissioners very frankly offered “to deliver up *Galloway*, and all the “places which were in their possession, into his “hands, with the remainder of the Kingdom, as soon “as it could be reduced; and to obey him absolutely “as their Prince.” But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it appeared to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then apprehended, discovered much of his Affection to the King, and his resolution “not to “accept any thing that was proposed, without his “Majesty’s privity and full approbation.” But in the mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content to send the Abbot of St. *Catharine’s* a *Lorrainer*, and a Person principally trusted by him, as his Ambassador into *Ireland*, to be informed of the true State of that Kingdom, and what real strength the Confederate Catholics were possessed of, and at what Unity among themselves. With him he sent about three or four thousand Pistoles, to supply their present Necessities, and some Arms and Ammunition. The Duke writ to the Lord Deputy the Marquis of *Clanricard*, as the King’s Governor, and the Person by whose Authority all those Propositions had been made to him by the Commissioners.

The Abbot upon his Arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found, that the Marquis knew nothing of what the Commissioners had proposed or offered; and would by no means, so much as enter

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The Duke
sends an Abbot
into Ireland to
be informed of
the State of it

B O O K upon any Treaty with him; but disavowed all that
XIII. they had said or done, with much vehemence, and
 The Marquis renounces any consent to the Treaty. with a Protestation, “ that he would cause their heads
 “ to be cut off, if they returned, or came into his
 “ hands.” And the Marquis did, at the same time,
 write very large Letters both to the King, and the
 Marquis of *Ormond*, of their presumption and wicked-
 ness; and very earnestly desired, “ that they might
 “ be imprisoned, and kept till they might undergo a
 “ just Trial.”

As the Marquis expressed all possible indignation,
 so many of the Catholic Nobility, and even some of
 their Clergy, who never intended to withdraw their
 Loyalty from the Crown of *England*, how weakly
 soever they had manifested it, indeed all the *Irish*
 Nation, but those of *Ulster*, who were of the old Septs,
 were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their
 strength was to be delivered presently up into the
 possession of a Foreign Prince; upon whose good
 nature only, it must be presumed that he would here-
 after restore it to the King. It was now time for the
 Popish Bishops, and their Confederates, to make
 good what had been offered by the Commissioners
 with their Authority; which though they thought
 not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in
 procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They
 very importunately advised, and pressed the Lord
 Deputy, “ to confirm what had been offered, as the
 “ only visible means to preserve the Nation, and
 “ Root out of which the King’s Right might again
 “ spring and grow up:” and when they found, that
 he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that,

if he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give Audience to the Ambassador, and removed from the place where they were, to his own House and Castle at *Portumny*, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced owned all that the Commissioners had propounded, “as done
“ by their Order, who could make it good ;” and desired the Ambassador “to enter into a Treaty with
“ them ;” and declared “that they would sign such
“ Articles, with which the Duke of *Lorraine* should
“ be well satisfied.” They undervalued the power of the Marquis of *Clanricard*, as not able to oppose any agreement they should make, nor able to make good any thing he should promise himself, without Their Assistance.

The Ambassador was a wise Man, and of flegm enough ; and though he heard all they would say, and received any Propositions they would give him in writing, yet he quickly discerned, that they were so unskillful as to the managery of any great design, and so disjointed among themselves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpose ; and excused himself from entering upon any new Treaty with them, as having no Commission to treat but with the Lord Deputy. But he told them, “he would deliver
“ all that they had, or would propose to him, to the
“ Duke his Master ; who, he presumed, would
“ speedily return his Answer, and proceed with their
“ Commissioners in such a manner as would be grate-
“ ful to them.” So he returned in the same Ship that brought him, and gave the Duke such an Account of

The Abbot
returns to the

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Duke; where
upon the Duke
gives over the
Negotiation.

his Voyage, and that People, that put an end to that Negotiation; which had been entered into, and prosecuted, with less wariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that Prince was accustomed to use.

When the Ambassador was gone, they prosecuted the Deputy, with all Reproaches of betraying and ruining his Country; and had several designs upon his Person, and communicated whatever Attempt was resolved to the Enemy: yet there were many of the Nobility and Gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his Person from any Violence they intended against him, but could not secure him, against their Acts of Treachery, nor keep his Counsels from being betrayed. After the Defeat of *Worcester* was known and published, they less considered all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own security that way that seemed most probable to him; and whosoever was most intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the Deputy, and loudly urged “the necessity of uniting themselves for the public safety, which was desperate any other way: whilst in truth every Man was negotiating for his own indemnity with *Ludlow* (who commanded the *English*) or for leave to transport Regiments; which kept the Soldiers together, as if they had been the Deputy’s Army.

The Lord
Clanricard
discovers a
correspond-
ence manag-
ed by a Friar
between the

The Deputy had a suspicion of a fellow, who was observed every day to go out, and returned not till the next; and appointed an Officer of trust, with some Horse, to watch him, and search him; which they did; and found about him a Letter, which contained

many Reproaches against the Marquis, and the Intelligence of many particulars; which the Messenger was carrying to *Ludlow*. It was quickly discovered that the Letter was written by one Father *Cohogan*, a Franciscan Friar in *Galloway*; where the Deputy then was; but much of the Intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The Deputy caused the Friar to be imprisoned, and resolved to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discovered his Complices. The Friar confessed the Letter to be of his writing, but refused to Answer to any other Question; and demanded his Privilege of a Church-Man, and not to be tried by the Deputy's Order. The Conclusion was, the Popish Bishops caused him to be taken out of the Prison; and sent to the Deputy, "that if he would send to them his Evidence against the Friar, who was an Ecclesiastical Person, they would take care that justice should be done."

This Proceeding convinced the Deputy, that he should not be able to do the King any Service in that Company; nor durst he stay longer in that Town, lest they should make their own Peace by delivering up him and the Town together; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time he removed from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betrayed; and sometimes without any Accommodations: so that, not having been accustomed to those hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he

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Popish Irish
Clergy and
Ludlow.

B O O K received Commands from the King. For as soon as he
XIII. had Advertisement of the King's Arrival at *Paris*, and it was very evident by the behaviour of the *Irish*, that they would be no more applied to the King's Service under His Command than under the Marquis of *Ormond's*, he sent the Earl of *Castle-haven* (who had been formerly a General of the Confederate Catholics, and remained with great constancy with the Marquis of *Clanricard*, as long as there was any hope) to the King, with so particular an account, under his own hand of all that had passed, from the time that he had received his Commission from the Marquis of *Ormond*, that it even contained almost a Diary, in which he made so lively a description of the proceedings of the *Irish*, of their Overtures to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards him, that any Man might discern, especially they who knew the generosity of the Marquis, his Nature, and his custom of Living, that he had submitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholic; and desired his Majesty's leave that he might retire, and procure a Pass to go into *England*; where he had some Estate of his own, and many Friends, who would not suffer him to starve; which his Majesty made haste to send to him, with as great a Testimony of his gracious Acceptation of his Service, and Affection, as his singular merit deserved.

He sends the Earl of Castle-haven to give an account of all to the King.

The King sends him leave to retire.

Thereupon the Marquis sent to *Ludlow* for a Pass to go into *England*, and render himself to the Parliament; which he presently sent him; and so the Marquis Transported himself to *London*; where he was civilly treated by all Men, as a Man who had many

The Marquis gets a Pass from Ludlow,

Friends, and could have no Enemies but those who could not be Friends to any. But by the Infirmities he had contracted in *Ireland*, by those severe fatigues and distresses he had been exposed to, he lived not to the end of a year ; and had resolved, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have Transported himself to the King, and attended his Fortune. He left behind him so full a Relation, of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that Rebellion, as during the time of his own Administration, that I have been the less particular in the Accounts of what passed in the Transactions of that Kingdom, presuming that more exact work of His will, in due time, be communicated to the World.

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and goes into
England, and
dies within a
Year.

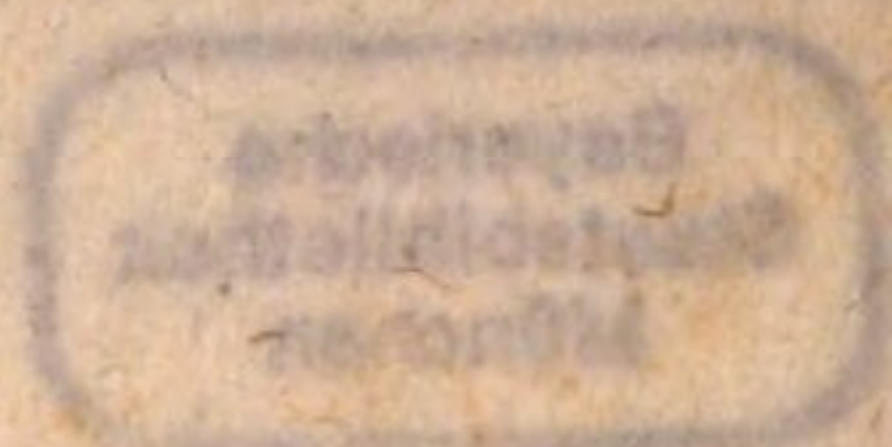
The Affairs of the three Nations being in this posture at the end of the year 1652, and there being new Accidents, and Alterations of a very extraordinary Nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of Success, though not with that benefit to the King as might have been expected naturally from those Emotions, We shall here conclude this Book, and reserve the other for the Next.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

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I think and can have no friends but those who
 could not be friends to any. But by the influence
 he had acquired in London by his late success
 and abilities he had been expected to be fitted not to
 the end of a year, and had retired upon the 1st of
 May to any degree of health, to have triumphed
 in the day, and secured his position. He
 left behind him a reputation of all sorts of
 things, as well as the beginning of a rebellion, as
 during the time of his administration, that I have
 been the subject of in the Account of what passed
 in the 1st of June of the King's death, following that
 more exact work of his will, in due time, he com-
 manded to the Will.
 The Affairs of the three Nations being in this
 posture at the end of the year 1692, and thus being
 now reduced and Actions of a very exten-
 sive nature, in the year following, which were
 attended with much variety of success, though not
 with that success to the King as might have been
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END OF THE TENTH VOLUME



Clarendon, Edward Hyde of, 1609-1674

The History Of The Rebellion and Civil Wars In England, Begun in the Year 1641 With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributes thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the King's blessed Restoration, and Return upon the 29th of May, in the year 1660
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